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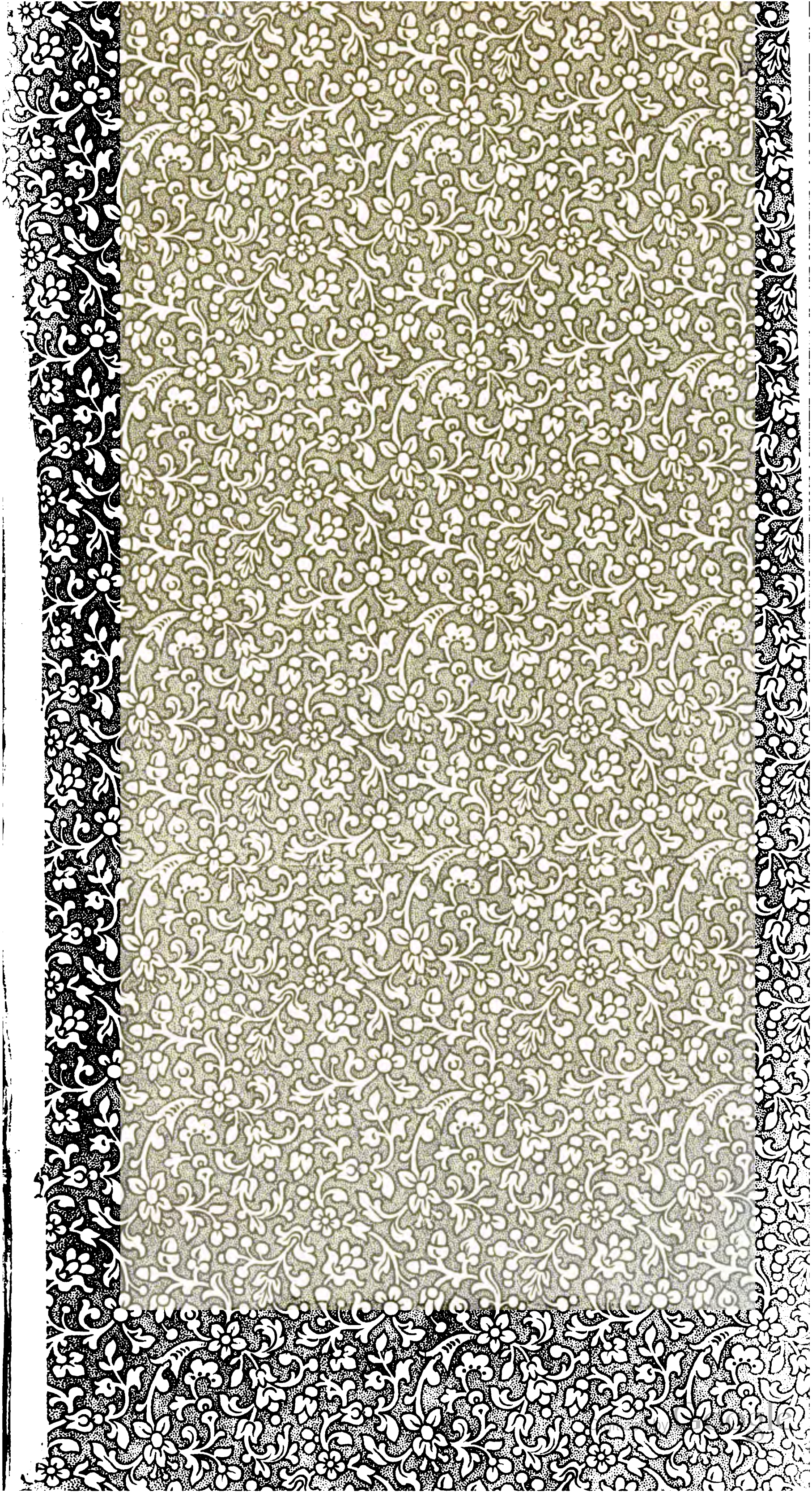
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A CRITICAL COMMENTARY

ON

THE BOOK OF DANIEL

DESIGNED ESPECIALLY

FOR

STUDENTS OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE

BY

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PREFACE.

Since the final closing of the Old Testament Canon, which probably took place about 100 B. C., perhaps no work included therein has excited more interest than the much disputed Book of Daniel. Indeed, a mere list of all that has been written both in defence of and against the authenticity of this production would fill a fair sized volume. It is obviously impossible, therefore, for a critical treatment of Daniel to be exhaustive in the sense of embodying all the opinions ever advanced regarding the interpretation, authorship and origin of the work, nor, in view of the immense mass of valueless literature dating from almost every Christian century which exists on the subject, would it be desirable to attempt such a task.

The object of the following commentary is to present as concisely as possible, especially to the student of the English Bible, the consensus of critical opinion regarding the many problems arising from the study of the Book of Daniel and to add such new matter as has been suggested by a careful examination of the text and exegesis. With this aim in view,

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for the sake of greater clearness, the work is divided into three parts; viz., a General Introduction, pp. 1–56, a Critical Commentary, pp. 57–193, and a Philological Commentary, pp. 195–259, for which the discussion of all the purely technical points has been reserved.

The writer has incorporated into the present work nearly all the material published in his Dissertation for the Doctorate "Mene Mene Tekel Upharsin", Baltimore, 1893.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE.

Hall of Languages
University Heights, New York City.
1899.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A. Aquila.

Abh. Lagarde, Gesammelte Abhandlungen.

AJP. American Journal of Philology.

AL. Delitzsch, Assyrische Lesestücke. 3 edition. Leipzig. 1885.

Arm. Stud. Lagarde, Armenische Studien.

ASKT. Haupt, Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte. Leipzig. 1881–2.

Ašurb. The Annals of Ašurbânipal. KB. ii. pp. 152—237.

Ašurb. Sm. George Smith, The History of Asurbanipal. London. 1871.

Ašurn. The Annals of Ašurnaçirpal. KB. i. pp. 48—128.

A. V. The Authorized Version.

AW. Fried. Delitzsch, Assyrisches Handwörterbuch. Leipzig. 1896.

BA. Beiträge zur Assyriologie.

Behrmann. Behrmann, Das Buch Daniel. Göttingen. 1894.

Bevan. Bevan, The Book of Daniel. Cambridge. 1892.

Bezold, Lit. Bezold, Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur. Leipzig. 1886.

CJS. Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.

Del. Prol. Fried. Delitzsch, Prolegomena e. neuen hebräisch-aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum A. T. Leipzig. 1886.

EIH. The East India House Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar. KB. iii. 2. pp. 10—31.

Flemming, Nbk. Flemming, Die grosse Steinplatteninschrift Nebuchadnezzars d. II. Göttingen. 1883.

GGA. Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.

Ges. Abh. See Abh.

Gr. Ven. Graecus Venetus.

HNE. Haupt, Das Babylonische Nimrodepos. Leipzig. 1884—1891.

JA. Journal Asiatique.

JBL. Journal of Biblical Literature.

J. H. U. Circ. The Johns Hopkins University Circulars.

Jhvh. Jehovah.

JRAS. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Kamphausen. Kamphausen, The Book of Daniel. Critical edition of the Heb. and Aram. Text. Leipzig. 1896.

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KAT. Schrader, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. Giessen. 1883. English translation: The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament. London. 1885—8.

KB. Schrader, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek. Berlin. 1889—1892.

Khors. The Khorsabad inscription of Sargon. KB. ii. pp. 52—81.

Lib. Dan. Bär and Delitzsch, Libri Danielis, Ezrae et Nehemiae. Leipzig. 1882.

LXX. The Septuagint.

Nabop. Inscription of Nabopolassar. KB. iii. pp. 2—9.

NHWB. Levy, Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch. Leipzig. 1876—1889.

N. T. The New Testament.

Ob. The Shalmaneser Obelisk. KB. i. pp. 128—150.

Opp. Doc. Jur. Oppert, Documents Juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée. Paris. 1877.

O. T. The Old Testament.

P. The Peshiṭṭā.

Paradies. Fried. Delitzsch. Wo lag das Paradies? Leipzig. 1881.

RE. Herzog's Realencyclopedie.

Rm. Rammannirari III. KB. i. pp. 188—193.

S. Symmachus.

Sarg. Cyl. The Sargon Cylinder. KB. ii. pp. 34—51.

Schrader, Cun. Inscr. The English translation to KAT.

Senn. The Taylor Cylinder of Sennacherib. KB. ii, pp. 80—113.

Sfg. Haupt, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze. Leipzig. 1879.

Shalm. Mon. The Shalmaneser Monolith. KB. i. pp. 150—175.

St. O. Theologische Studien und Skizzen aus Ostpreussen.

Str. Strassmaier.

Θ Theodotion.

Tig. The prism inscription of Tiglathpileser I. KB. i. pp. 14—47.

UAG. Hugo Winckler, Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte Leipzig. 1889.

V. The Vulgate.

Vers. Mass. The Marseilles Version.

Vog. De Vogüé, La Syrie Centrale. Paris. 1868—1877.

ZA. Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.

ZATW. Stade's Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.

ZB. Zimmern, Babylonische Busspsalmen. Leipzig. 1885.

ZDMG. Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

ZK. Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.

ψ Psalm.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER FIRST.

THE BOOK AND ITS CONTENTS.

The Book of Daniel stands between Ezra and Esther in the third great division of the Hebrew Bible known as the Hagiographa, in which are classed all works which were not regarded as being part of the Law or the Prophets.

Ancient Translations.

There were five ancient translations of Daniel, parts of all of which are still extant:

1. The Septuagint.

This is thought to antedate the Christian era by more than a century and differs in so many details from the present Masoretic text as to make it appear evident that the early Greek translators had an original text before them which varied in many particulars from the one now in use.

2. Theodotion's Greek Version.

This is merely a later revision of the LXX., probably prepared in the second Christian century. The translations of Theodotion and the LXX. were subsequently confused with each other, interpolations from the LXX. having been introduced into Theodotion and *vice versa.*

3. Aquila and Symmachus.

Only fragments of the work of these translators exist.

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4. The Peshiṭṭā.

The Syriac version is almost identical with the present accepted Masoretic text.

5. The Coptic translation.

This is based on Theodotion and has a long supplementary chapter generally supposed to have been composed as late as 1000 A. D.[1]

Later additions.

In addition to these translations, there are certain later apocryphal variations of and additions to the Book, e. g. first, the three early productions found in the Apocrypha; viz., the Story of Susannah, the Song of the Three Children, and Bel and the Dragon; secondly, a Jewish apocalypse preserved in Persian which dates from the ninth century A. D.[2], and finally a similar Christian book which originated in the eleventh century A. D.

Divisions of the Book.

The Book of Daniel presents the unusual peculiarity of being written in two languages, Cc. i.–ii., 4 and viii.–xii. being in Hebrew, while the text of Cc. ii. 4–vii. is in the Palestinian dialect of Aramaic. The subject matter, however, falls naturally into two divisions, not co-terminous with the linguistic sections, e. g. Cc. i.–vi. and vii.–xii., incl. The first of these sense divisions treats primarily of the adventures at the Babylonian court of the Hebrew hero Daniel and secondarily, of those of his three companions Shadrach, Mesech and Abednego[3], the scene being laid in the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar the great king of Babylon (604–561 B. C.), of Belshazzar who appears in the narrative as the son of Nebuchadnezzar, and of Darius the Mede who is represented as the conqueror of Belshazzar and the successful invader of Babylon.

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[1] For a description of these translations, see Bevan, Dan. pp. 1—3; 43 ff., and Behrmann, Dan. pp. xxviii. ff. [2] See Zotenberg, Archiv für Erforschung d. A. T. Bd. i. 1869. [3] Called Hananiah, Mišael and Azariah in i., 6. These names were changed by the Chief Eunuch to Shadrach, Mesech and Abednego.

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Daniel and his friends at court.

The Book opens with an introductory account, C. i., explaining the presence of Daniel and his three friends at the court of Nebuchadnezzar. In consequence of a royal command to the Chief Eunuch, who then as now acted as Master of Ceremonies at oriental courts, this official chose certain children of royal and noble birth to serve as attendants in the palace and learn the wisdom and language of the Chaldæans. Among these were the four Jewish youths just mentioned who, in spite of their refusal for religious reasons to defile themselves with the king's food and wine, throve so marvellously both physically and mentally that they excelled their fellow servants in all matters of wisdom and understanding, especially in the much prized arts of astrology and divination, and were accordingly assured permanent positions at the court.

The Dream of the Composite Image.

The narrative then passes on abruptly in C. ii. to a special episode in the life of Nebuchadnezzar, e. g. his unintelligible dream regarding the great composite image, to interpret which he calls in vain on all the native astrologers and diviners. When these have failed and the king in great wrath has issued a sweeping command that every member of the college of magicians shall be slain, which is understood to include Daniel and his three friends, the secret of the dream is miraculously revealed to Daniel who is forthwith hurried before the king, to whom he announces the interpretation. The great monarch straightway accepts Daniel's explanation as the correct one and not only recognizes the power of the Hebrew's God, but elevates the captive to be ruler of the whole province of Babylon and to be chief of the court sages. Not content with this, the king also appoints Daniel's three compatriots to subordinate positions of trust in the government.

The Episode of the Fiery Furnace.

This latter statement forms the connecting link, by means of which the author introduces the well-known third chapter

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describing the miraculous deliverance of these three persons from the fiery furnace, to which they had been condemned owing to their contumacy in refusing to worship a great idol which Nebuchadnezzar had set up for the adoration of all his people. This account seems a little strange to a modern reader, coming as it does almost directly after the assertion that Nebuchadnezzar had already definitely recognized the God of Daniel and his compatriots as a "God of gods" and a "Lord of kings". At the end of C. iii., also, there is a repetition of the statement that the king appointed Shadrach, Mesech and Abednego over the province of Babylon.

The Vision of the Great Tree and the King's Insanity.

The fourth chapter has little direct connection with what precedes, save that, in a general way, part of the subject matter, the interpretation by Daniel of a dream of Nebuchadnezzar, resembles that of C. ii. In C. iv. the story is told by the king himself in the first person in the form of a decree. He announces to all peoples, nations and races, for their greater edification, the narrative of the vision of the Great Tree which was interpreted by Daniel as being prophetic of the king's period of insanity when his mind became deranged, so that he wandered forth with the beasts and ate grass. The fulfillment of this prophecy comes at once, even while the king is exclaiming at its improbability. The monarch himself states that he actually became like a beast for a brief period, but that eventually his mind returned and he saw the error of his ways. He accordingly once more, the third time in this strange series of stories, praises the "King of Heaven whose works are truth". There can be little doubt that the author purposely allowed these numerous and striking repetitions to stand, in order that he might emphasize his main theme all the more strongly, e. g. the power of Jhvh to rescue his servants from any danger, however imminent and apparently unavoidable.

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The Feast of Belshazzar.

In Cc. v.–vi. the narrative makes quite a new departure. The traditions at the author's disposal concerning Nebuchadnezzar's religious experiences being probably exhausted, he proceeds to embody into his work the account of the writing on the wall at the feast of Belshazzar whom he regards as the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar. Here it is stated that Belshazzar gave a festival to the lords and ladies of his court, at which the sacred vessels of the Jerusalem temple, which had been brought to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar at the time of the Judaean captivity in 586 B.C., were profaned by the ribald company. In consequence of this, during the midst of the festivities, a Hand was seen writing on the wall of the chamber a mysterious sentence which defied all attempts at interpretation until the Hebrew sage Daniel was called. He read and translated the unknown words which proved to be a divine menace against the government of the dissolute Belshazzar whose kingdom was to be divided between the Medes and Persians. In the last verse we are told that Belshazzar was slain in that same night and that his power passed to Darius the Mede, a statement which serves as a connecting link between Cc. v–vi.

The Den of Lions.

Chapter vi, the last section of the first division of the book, is devoted to the well-known story of Daniel's miraculous escape from the den of lions, into which he was thrown through the machinations of certain officials at the court of Darius the Mede. After Daniel emerges in safety from his great peril, Darius punishes the plotters by casting them and their families to be devoured by the same lions whose mouths had been divinely closed against Daniel. The king is then represented as publicly acknowledging the power of Daniel's God and requiring by a decree that all his people do the same.

The Uniformity of the Narrative.

The most superficial reader of the Book of Daniel cannot fail to notice the strikingly uniform character of the narratives

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in the first six chapters. In every case there is a heathen king reproved by the God of the captive Jews, either through the interpretation by an inspired servant of Jhvh of a dream or portent revealed to the unbelieving monarch, or by an actual miracle, by means of which the divinely favoured person or persons are rescued from the futile malice of their heathen foes.

The Second Part of the Book.

The style of the last division of the Book (vii.–xii.) is very different to that of the narrative sections. Instead of stories treating of the personal adventures of Daniel and his friends, we find here apocalyptic descriptions of four prophetic visions supposed to have been revealed to and recorded by the Hebrew Seer at various times during his service at the Babylonian court.

The Vision of the Four Beasts.

Chapter vii., the first of the series, is the record of the vision of the four beasts, typifying the four world empires, and also the additional vision of the ultimate domination of the Messianic Man. It is distinctly stated here that four world empires are to arise, during which time the sufferings of the saints are to increase until they culminate at the end of the fourth empire under a prince worse than all his predecessors, after which the kingdom of God is to appear. A careful examination of the book makes it apparent that the author believed that Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by his son Belshazzar who was displaced by Darius the Mede and he in turn followed by Cyrus the Persian. It seems evident, therefore, that in the mind of the author[4] the four empires were:

1. The Babylonian monarchy, represented by Nebuchadnezzar and his immediate successor Belshazzar.
2. That of Darius the Mede.
3. The Persian empire under Cyrus.

[4] This view, which is a very ancient one, is now so generally accepted as not to require discussion.

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4. The empire of Alexander and his successors, culminating in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (175–164. B. C.).

The Ram and the Goat.

Chapter viii. sets forth the second vision concerning the Ram and Goat which is explained to Daniel by a superhuman interpreter as being prophetic of the conflict between the kings of Media and Persia and "the king of Grecia".

The Style of the Visions.

It is noticeable that in Cc. vii.–viii. the language describing the visions is highly typical, requiring a special interpretation before Daniel comprehends it, the author making use of a ram and a goat, as well as of composite beasts as the symbols of the historical events of which he speaks. From ix. to xii., however, he throws aside these ambiguous terms and makes Daniel receive his information in clearer and more direct language.

The Seventy Weeks.

The third vision, C. ix., accordingly, differs radically from the preceding sections. It begins with a long penitential prayer in which Daniel in exalted language reviews the sins of Israel against Jhvh and prays for the divine forgiveness for the people. A speedy answer to this supplication comes in the person of the angel Gabriel who announces to the Seer the mysterious period of seventy weeks of probation for Israel.

Description of the Seleucidan Period.

The two last chapters (x.–xii.) deal with the fourth vision by the Tigris of the comforting angel, by whom Daniel is informed that his prayers have been heard. The messenger exhorts the pious Israelite to be firm and take courage, vaguely alluding to an impending battle between himself and the prince of Persia "after which the prince of Grecia shall come" (evidently Alexander the Great). The speaker continues in Cc. xi–xii. to prophesy very minutely the course of future history, mentioning in no doubtful terms the immediate predecessors of the

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Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes, as well as the chief events of that monarch's evil reign. In fact, in the last three chapters of the book the combats between the Ptolemies and Seleucidae are so clearly laid before the reader that the visions have more the appearance of history than prophecy.

Daniel and the Apocalyptic Literature.

The Book of Daniel is the oldest apocalyptic work on record and has served undoubtedly as the model for all later productions of this nature, whether Jewish or Christian. The apocalyptic writers were in a measure the successors of the ancient prophets who had exhorted and encouraged the people in their various vicissitudes by promising the speedy advent of the Messiah and the permanent restoration of Israel's glory. Precisely the same theme was followed by the authors of the later consolatory literature who, however, in emphasizing it, employed an entirely different method. Instead of themselves professing to speak as mouth-pieces of Jhvh, they preferred to put revelations suiting the special purpose of their works into the mouths of the more famous older prophets, anonymously weaving a tissue of wonderful visions and symbolical images supposed to have been revealed to some great seer of antiquity, but always having a direct reference to events which were really within the scope of the author's own knowledge. The obscure imagery employed by writers of this school was undoubtedly purposely used to veil the true meaning of their consolatory predictions which, for example, in the case of the Book of Daniel, a work obviously directed against a persecuting monarch, could certainly not have been published in plain language with any safety to the author. The influence of the Book of Daniel is clearly seen not only in the apocryphal and apocalyptic works mentioned above, but throughout all the later apocalyptic literature, the most notable example of which is, of course, the great Apocalypse of St. John in the New Testament.

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CHAPTER SECOND.

THE LITERARY UNITY OF THE WORK.

Regarding the literary unity of Daniel, opinions vary. Some critics, owing to the great difference in style between the two divisions of the book, have believed in a separate origin for the first six chapters[1]. Moreover, the fact that from ii. 4 through vii, the text is in Aramaic and not in Hebrew has not unnaturally influenced some scholars to believe that the Aramaic portions have a separate origin from the other parts of the book[2].

Uniformity of the Prophecies.

A comparison of the apocalyptic and narrative chapters, however, makes it apparent that we have the same prophecies in all repeated in different forms. Thus, the vision of the colossal image in the narrative chapter ii. contains substantially the same prophecies as occur in the purely apocalyptic chapter vii. in the second part of the work. It should not be forgotten, also, that the Aramaic chapter vii., the beginning of the second part, is certainly as apocalyptic in character as any of the following Hebrew sections. Moreover, the natural

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[1] Thus, Sack, Herbst and Davidson attributed the second part of the work to Daniel, but regarded the first six chapters as an introduction to the visions written by a later Jew. Eichhorn believed that Cc. ii. 4—vi. were written by one author, and Cc. vii.—xii. with i.—ii. 3 by another. [2] Zöckler, for example, following some of his predecessors such as Kranichfeld, considered the Aramaic sections as extracts from a contemporary journal in the vernacular (Dan. p. 4). Even Driver (Introd. pp. 482—3), although seeing the objection to such a view, remarks with some caution that the theory of a separate origin for these sections deserves consideration. Meinhold (Diss. p. 38 and Beiträge z. Erklärung d. B. Dan. pp. 32; 70.) believed that the Aramaic portions were in existence at the time of Alexander the Great. We should compare, in this connection, Strack (in Zöckler's Hdbch. i. 165) who inclines to this view, although admitting that the book at present forms an indivisible whole (cf. also Lenormant, Magie; Germ. ed. pp. 527; 565).

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division of the work is undoubtedly after Chapter vi., so that, if the difference in language were a sign of a separate origin for these narrative sections, we would expect C. vii., the beginning of the distinctly apocalyptic portion, to be in Hebrew, which, however, is not the case. The Aramaic seventh chapter belongs as completely to the following Hebrew apocalyptic sections as the Hebrew first chapter is essentially part of the following Aramaic narrative sections. There can be little doubt, therefore, that any theory seeking to divide the authorship of the book on the basis of the unexpected change of language is untenable.

Definite Plan of the Work.

A *resumé* of the contents shows clearly that a definite plan was followed in the arrangement of the work. The author evidently sought to demonstrate to his Jewish readers the necessity of faith in Israel's God Who does not allow His chosen ones to suffer for ever under the heel of the ruthless heathen oppressor. To illustrate this, he makes use, on the one hand, of carefully chosen narratives, each arranged in a separate section which was only very loosely connected with the others, but all treating of substantially the same subject; the triumph of God's servant over his unbelieving enemies, and on the other hand of certain prophetic visions which are revealed to this same servant. So carefully, indeed, is the record of the visions arranged, that the first two chapters of the second part of the Book (vii.–viii.) were probably purposely made to appear in a symbolic form, in order that in the last two revelations, which were couched in such direct language as to be intelligible even to the modern student of history, the author may obtain the effect of a climax.

Daniel not a series of "Disjecta membra".

The Book of Daniel can hardly be said to be "a bundle of loose leaves" as Lagarde called it[3], except in the sense

[3] Mitt. iv. p. 351 (1891), commenting on a similar view of J. D. Michaelis. Cf. also GGA. 1891. pp. 497–520, especially pp. 506–517.

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that the author undoubtedly made use of some material which he found ready to his hand. He most probably arranged his work purposely in more or less disconnected sections, in order to facilitate its diffusion at a time when books became known to the people at large chiefly by being read aloud in public[4]. The uniform plan of the Book and the studied arrangement of its subject matter show conclusively that it is the work of a single author, and the extreme theory, therefore, that Daniel is merely a collection of *Danieliana,* e. g. a number of parts of different origin joined loosely together by a careless editor must be unqualifiedly rejected[5].

The change of Language. Aramaic not the Language of Babylonia.

Various attempts have been made to explain the sudden change from Hebrew to Aramaic in ii. 4. Some of the older commentators thought that Aramaic was the vernacular of Babylonia and was consequently employed as the language of the parts relating to that country[6]. Such a view is of course no longer tenable, as the cuneiform inscriptions now show that both Assyria and Babylonia had a distinct Semitic language of their own which remained in use until quite a late date, certainly later than the time of the author of Daniel[7].

This view of Lagarde's was really a repetition of that of Bertholdt, Dan. pp. 49 ff.

[4] See Bevan, Dan. p. 25. [5] Cf. Bleek, Einl. p. 415; Delitzsch, RE.[2] vii. p. 471; Reuss, Gesch., p. 599, and more lately Kamphausen, Das Buch Daniel und die neuere Geschichtsforschung. 1893, p. 8. [6] So Kliefoth, Dan. p. 44; Keil, Dan. p. 14. [7] The latest connected Babylonian inscription is that of Antiochus Soter (280—260 B. C.), published V. R. 66 and translated by Peiser, KB. iii. pt. 2, p. 136. Nöldeke's theory, advanced in his *brochure,* Die Semitischen Sprachen, pp. 41 ff., that the Assyrian language died as a spoken idiom shortly before the fall of Nineveh is wholly unfounded. Gutbrod refers in ZA. vi. p. 27 to a brick, found at Tello, on which was engraved in Aramaic and Greek letters a proper name of distinctly Assyrian character; viz., אדדנדנאח, *Ἀδαδναδινάχης.* When it is remembered that a living language exercises the greatest possible influence on the formation of proper names, this brick, which is unfortunately undated,

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The View of Merx.

The theory of Merx is equally unconvincing that Aramaic, which was the popular tongue of the period when the Book was written, was used for the narratives for this reason, while Hebrew, as the more learned language, was made the idiom of the philosophical portions. The plain answer to this idea is that Chapter i., which is just as much in the narrative style as the following Aramaic sections, is in Hebrew, while the distinctly apocalyptic Chapter vii. is in Aramaic.

The "Hybrid" Theory.

A third supposition that the bilingual character of the work points to a time when Hebrew and Aramaic were used indifferently is highly unsatisfactory, as it is very questionable if two languages can be used quite indifferently. In fact, a hybrid connected work in two idioms would be a literary monstrosity [8].

Huetius and Bertholdt.

Huetius, an old commentator, expressed the belief that the entire work was written originally in Aramaic and was subsequently translated into Hebrew [9]. He thought that in the troubled Seleucidan period the Hebrew translation was partly destroyed and the missing portions supplied from the Aramaic original. This theory does not commend itself as the most satisfactory explanation of the difficulty, because it would be rather improbable that a writer would go to the trouble of translating a work from the popular language into the idiom of culture which was known only to a few, but rather the reverse. The well known scholar Bertholdt, however, in commenting on Huetius' view hit upon what now seems the best

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would seem to be an evidence, as Gutbrod thinks, that Assyrian was spoken until Hellenic times. It is perfectly possible that Assyro-Babylonian survived as a literary language as late as the second century A. D.

[8] Cf. Bertholdt, Dan. p. 15; also Hävernick, and Franz Delitzsch, RE.[2] iii. p. 272 and vii. p. 470. [9] Demonstr. Evang. p. 472.

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solution of the problem, but unfortunately did not adopt it[10]. He remarked with a strong touch of sarcasm that it had not yet occurred to anyone to consider the Aramaic text as a translation and the Hebrew as an original.

The only possible Explanation.

In view of the evident unity of the entire work, which Bertholdt did not recognize, no other explanation of the bilingual character of the Book seems possible. The work was probably written at first all in Hebrew, but for the convenience of the general reader whose language was Aramaic, a translation, possibly from the same pen as the original, was made into the Aramaic vernacular. It must be supposed then that certain parts of the Hebrew manuscript being lost, the missing places were supplied from the current Aramaic translation[11].

CHAPTER THIRD.

THE AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF THE WORK.

The Book generally credited by the ancients.

The Book of Daniel was probably in existence as early as 140 B. C., as there is a reference in the Sybilline verses (iii. 388 ff.)[1] which seems to be an allusion to Antiochus Epiphanes and the ten horns of Dan. vii. 7; x. 24. Besides this, the allusion in 1 Macc. ii. 59–60 to the divine rescue of Daniel's

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[10] In his Daniel, on v. 2. [11] So also Bevan, Dan. pp. 27 ff. I cannot agree in this connection with Kamphausen, *op. cit.* p. 14, note, who rejects this hypothesis on the ground that the author of Daniel fell into the error of regarding Chaldæan as the language of Babylonia, and consequently deliberately wrote in it those sections applying more especially to Babylon, reserving the Hebrew for the more solemn prophetical part. Kamphausen does not explain any more than his predecessors in this opinion (see above p. 11 note 6) why the apocalyptic Aramaic chapter vii., which is indivisible from the succeeding prophetic Hebrew portions, is in Aramaic instead of Hebrew.

[1] Schürer, Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes. ii. pp. 791—799.

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three companions from the fiery furnace shows conclusively that the Book was known and generally credited at that time (100 B. C.). It seems to have been recognized by the ancients that the events chronicled in the Book of Daniel were historically accurate in every particular and that the work was actually the production of the Hebrew Prophet Daniel who lived from the time of Nebuchadnezzar the great king of Babylon (now known to have reigned 604–561 B. C.) until the beginning of the reign of Cyrus in Babylonia (538 B. C.)[2]. This may be seen from the references in the New Testament ascribing the authorship of the work to Daniel without question[3] and also by the writings of the Jewish chronicler Josephus who relates, for example, with perfect good faith the fable[4] about the prophecies of Daniel being shown to Alexander the Great on the entry of that monarch into Jerusalem. A long list of more modern writers who upheld the authenticity of the Book might also easily be cited[5].

Early Doubters.

The first known authority who expressed a doubt as to the genuine character of the Book of Daniel was the Neo-Platonist Porphyrius (233–304 A. D.) who, in his great work of fifteen books directed against the Christians, devoted the whole of the twelfth book to an attack on Daniel which he declared to have been the work of a Jew of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, originally written in Greek[6]. The writings of Porphyrius were all collected and burnt by order of the emperors Constantine and Theodosius, so that his views have descended to posterity only through the works of Jerome who attempted to refute his arguments[7].

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[2] See Additional Note i. [3] Matth. xxiv. 15; Mark, xiii. 14, referring to Dan. ix. 27; xii. 11. The Roman Church regards Daniel as a saint and appoints July 21st as his day (cf. Baillet, Vitae Sanctorum ad diem xxi Julii). [4] Ant. xi. 8, 5. [5] See Additional Note ii. [6] Porphyrius used the Greek version of Θ which he very probably believed to be the original of the work (cf. Bevan Dan. p. 3, quoting Jerome). [7] According to the statement of Jerome, he was also answered by Methodius, Apollinaris of Laodicea and Eusebius of Caesaria.

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According to Origen, the pagan Celsus is also said to have expressed a doubt concerning the truth of the occurrences described in Daniel.

The Book cannot be authentic history.

It cannot be denied in the light of modern research that if the Book of Daniel be regarded as pretending to full historical authority, the Biblical record is open to all manner of attack. It is now the general opinion of most scholars who study the old Testament from a critical point of view [8] that this work cannot possibly have originated according to the traditional theory at any time during the later Babylonian monarchy when the events recorded are supposed to have taken place. The chief reasons for such a conclusion are as follows:

1. The position in the Canon.

The position of the Book among the Hagiographa instead of among the Prophetical works would seem to indicate that it must have been introduced after the closing of the Prophetical canon. The explanation, advanced by some, that the apocalyptic nature of the work did not entitle it to a place among the Prophetical books and that therefore it was relegated to an inferior position is hardly satisfactory. Some commentators believed that Daniel was not an actual prophet in the proper

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[8] Collins, Scheme of literal Prophecy considered, 1726; Semler, Untersuchungen des Canons, iii. p. 505; Corrodi, Versuche über verschiedene in Theologie und Bibelkritik einschlagende Gegenstände, 1783; Versuch einer Beleuchtung der Geschichte d. jüd. u. christl. Bibelkanons, i. pp. 75 ff., 1792; Eichhorn, Einl.[4]; Bertholdt, Dan.; Kirms, Commentatio historico-critica, 1828; Redepenning, Dan., 1833; v. Lengerke, Dan., 1835; Ewald, Dan.; Hitzig, Dan.; Bunsen, Gott in der Gesch. i. Teil, 1857. pp. 302; 514; 540; Lücke, Versuch e. vollständ. Einl. i. d. Offenbarung Johannes[2]; Bleek, Einl.; Riehm, Einl. ii. p. 292; Strack in Zöckler's Hdbch. d. Theol. Wissenschaft, i. pp. 164—5, 1885; also in Herzog RE.[2] vii. p. 419; Schlottmann, Compendium d. Alttest. Theologie, 1887—9; Reuss, Gesch. d. A. T., pp. 592 ff. 1890; C. A. Briggs, Messianic Prophecy, pp. 411 ff.; Driver, Introd. p. 467, and many others.

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sense, but only a seer, or else that he was a prophet merely by natural gifts, but not by official standing[9]. If Daniel, however, had really seen the visions which are attributed to him by the work bearing his name, he would certainly have been a great prophet, and, as has been pointed out by Bleek, would have had fully as much right to be ranked as such as Amos, Ezekiel or Zechariah[10]. The natural explanation regarding the position of the Book of Daniel is that the work could not have been in existence at the time of the completion of the second part of the Canon, as otherwise, the collectors of the prophetical writings, who in their care did not neglect even the parable of Jonah, would hardly have ignored the record of such a great prophet as Daniel is represented to be.

2. The Silence of Ecclesiasticus.

The silence of Jesus Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) concerning Daniel seems to show that the prophet was unknown to that late writer who, in his list of celebrated men (C. xlix), makes no mention of Daniel, but passes from Jeremiah to Ezekiel and then to the twelve Minor Prophets and Zerubbabel. If Daniel had been known to Jesus Sirach, we would certainly expect to find his name in this list, probably between Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Again, the only explanation seems to be that the Book of Daniel was not known to Sirach who lived and wrote between 200 and 180 B. C. Had so celebrated a person as Daniel been known, he could hardly have escaped mention in

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[9] The explanation originated with the Rabbinical writers that Daniel had the רוח הקדש 'spirit of holiness', but not the רוח הנבואה 'the official inspiration' (Qamchi, Preface to the Psalms; Maimon, More Nebochim, 2. pp. 41; 119, quoted Bertholdt, Dan., p. xiii.). This rabbinical device was followed and elaborated by a number of the later orthodox commentators such as Auberlen, Dan. pp. 34–5; Delitzsch, RE.[2] iii. pp. 271–2; Isaiah, p. 3; Keil, Dan. p. 23, etc. [10] Cf. Bleek, Einl.[5] p. 418. In the LXX. the book is placed directly after Ezekiel, which shows that the translators considered it a prophetic work. Compare, in this connection the opinion of Yaḥya, who attributed to Daniel the highest degree of prophetic inspiration: הנבואה קצה הגדול.

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such a complete list of Israel's leading spirits. Hengstenberg remarked that Ezra and Mordecai were also left unmentioned, but the case is not parallel. Daniel is represented in the work attributed to him as a great prophet, while Ezra appears in the Book bearing his name as nothing more than a rather prominent priest and scholar.

3. No Traces of the Influence of Daniel on the Prophets.

A *third* argument against an early origin for our Book is the fact that the post-exilic prophets exhibit no trace of its influence. Had the Book of Daniel been extant and generally known since the time of Cyrus, it would be reasonable to look for some sign of its power among the writings of prophets like Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, whose works, however, show no evidence that either the name or history of Daniel was known to the authors.

Attention has been attracted, furthermore to the way in which the prophets are looked back upon in ix. 6–10, which cannot fail to suggest an extremely late origin for the Book. Besides this, a careful study of the passage ix. 2 seems to indicate that the Canon of the Prophets was definitely established at the time when the author wrote. It is, moreover, highly probable that much of the material of the second part of the Book was suggested by the works of the later Prophets, especially Ezekiel and Zechariah.

4. The Contents of the Work show its inauthentic Character.

Finally, the actual contents of the Book itself seem to preclude the supposition of even an approximately contemporary origin for the work. The narrative chapters, for example, are full of striking historical inaccuracies which could never have originated at the time of the Judæan captivity in Babylon.

Three striking Errors.

This will readily be seen from a cursory summary of the three most important errors of this sort:—

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a) **Date of the Capture of Jerusalem.**

The chronological error in C. i. that Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem as king of Babylon in the third year of Jehoiakim should be considered first. It is known from Jer. xxv. 1 and xxxvi. 9; 29, that Nebuchadnezzar did not begin to reign in Babylon until the fourth year of Jehoiakim in Judah, and that the Babylonians in the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim had not yet come to Jerusalem which was taken in July 586 B. C.[11] in the tenth and last year of the reign of Jehoiakim. The origin of this error has been traced to a false combination of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6 ff. and 2 Kings xxiv. 1[12].

b) **Belshazzar.**

No writer living at the Babylonian court of Cyrus could have asserted that Belshazzar was the son of Nebuchadnezzar[13].

c) **Darius the Mede.**

No author familiar with the contemporary history could have interpolated a Median rule between the last king of Babylon and the Persians[14].

Foreign Loanwords.

An additional evidence that the Book of Daniel must have been written at a considerably later period than the Persian conquest of Babylon may be found in the presence of both Persian and Greek loanwords[15]. The occurrence of the former shows conclusively that the book must have originated after

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[11] See Bleek, *op. cit.*, p. 427. Cf. also Tiele, Gesch. p. 427; 2 Kings xxiv. 10—17; Jer. xxix. 2. [12] See Kamphausen, Das Buch Daniel und die neuere Geschichtsforschung, p. 17. [13] It is interesting to notice that as early as 1757 A. D., Goebel (De Belsasaro, quoted Reuss, *op. cit.* p. 602) calls attention to this historical error. Reuss mentions also one Sartorius, Hist. Excid. Babyl., Tübingen, 1766; also Norberg, Opp. iii, p. 222. For full discussion, see below pp. 41 ff. [14] For full discussion, see below pp. 44 ff. [15] The theory advanced by Strack, in Zöckler's Handbuch i. p. 165 and RE.² vii, p. 419, that the occurrence of Persian loanwords necessarily points to a pre-Maccabæan origin for these sections does not seem tenable. It is quite conceivable that Persian loanwords should have remained until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

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the Persian conquest of Babylon, while on the other hand the presence of Greek words appears to preclude the possibility of setting the origin of the work prior to the time of Alexander the Great. For example, the names of the three musical instruments in C. iii. 5; 15; translated in the A. V. "dulcimer, psaltery and harp" are undoubtedly loanwords from the Greek *συμφωνία*, *ψαλτήριον* and *κίθαρις*, and the reproduction of the words in Aramaic is so exact as to presuppose a close commercial intercourse between the Greeks and the people among whom the author of Daniel lived. It is quite clear, however, that no such intercourse could have taken place before the time of Alexander and the subsequent Seleucidae[16].

The Languages of Daniel.

No satisfactory argument concerning the age of Daniel can be deduced from an examination of the languages in which the Book is written save that, as will appear in the subsequent commentary, the Hebrew is undoubtedly late and full of Aramæisms and in some respects approaches the later language of the Mishna. The Aramaic of both Daniel and Ezra is a special Palestinian dialect of the language commonly known as the Biblical Aramaic, of which the idiom of the Jewish Targums is a somewhat modernized form[17].

The Apocalyptic Sections. The prophetical Allusions to Antiochus Epiphanes.

Turning more especially to the apocalyptic sections, it is quite evident that the predictions in the Book of Daniel centre on the period of Antiochus Epiphanes when that Syrian prince was endeavouring to suppress the worship of Jhvh and substitute for it the Greek idolatry[18]. These passages either break off directly with the overthrow of this king, or else add a promise of freedom for God's people from all oppressions and

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[16] See below on iii. 5 for full discussion regarding the early intercourse between the Greeks and Persians. [17] See Bevan, Dan. pp. 28—40 on the Hebrew and Aramaic of Daniel. [18] Cf. 2 Macc. v. 11 ff.

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the announcement of the Messianic kingdom and the resurrection of the dead. There can be no doubt for example that in the Little Horn of vii. 8; viii. 9 and the wicked prince described in ix.–xi. who is to work such evil among the saints, we have clearly one and the same person. It is now generally recognized that the king symbolized by the Little Horn, of whom it is said that he will come of one of four kingdoms which shall be formed from the Greek empire after the death of its first king, can be none other than Antiochus Epiphanes, and in like manner do the references in C. ix. plainly allude to the same prince. It seems quite clear also that xi. 21–45 refers to the evil deeds of Antiochus IV. and his attempts against the Jewish people and the worship of Jhvh. In C. xii. follows the promise of salvation from the same tyrant and, strikingly enough, the predictions in this last section x.–xii. relating to future events become inaccurate as soon as the author finishes the section describing the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes [19].

The Doctrines.

Not only does the subject matter of the prophecies plainly point to a post–Babylonian origin for the work, but also some of the beliefs which are set forth in the second part of the book practically preclude the possibility of the author's having lived at the court of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors.

The Angelology.

Most noticeable among these doctrines is the complete system of angelology consistently followed out in the Book of Daniel, according to which the management of human affairs is entrusted to a regular hierarchy of commanding angels, two of whom, Gabriel and Michael, are even mentioned by name. Such an idea was distinctly foreign to the primitive Israelitish conception of the indivisibility of Jhoh's power and must consequently have been a borrowed one. It could cer-

[19] See below on Cc. x.–xii.

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tainly not have come from the Babylonians, however, whose system of attendant spirits was far from being as complete as that which we find in the Book of Daniel, but rather from Persian sources where a most complicated angelology had been developed[20]. There can be little doubt, as many commentators have brought out, that this doctrine of angels in Daniel is an indication of prolonged Persian influence.

The Resurrection of the Dead.

Furthermore, the attention of scholars has been directed to the fact that the first definite prophecy of a resurrection of the dead is found in the Book of Daniel[21] and it is now very generally admitted that this doctrine also originated among the Persians and could only have become engrafted on the Jewish mind after a long period of intercourse with the Zoroastrian religion[22]. It is clearly impossible, therefore, that the author of passages showing such beliefs could have lived as early as the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

Style of the Prophecies.

In addition to all these details, it should be noticed that the Book of Daniel differs materially from all other prophetic writings of the Old Testament in the general style of its prophecies. Other prophets confine themselves to vague and general predictions, but the author of Daniel gives a detailed account of historical events which may easily be recognized through the thin veil of prophetic mystery thrown lightly around them. It is highly suggestive that just those occurrences which are the most remote from the assumed standpoint of the writer are the most correctly stated, while the nearer we approach the author's supposed time, the more inaccurate does he become. It should be stated also in this

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[20] Cf. Cheyne, Encycl. Brit. vi. p. 806. [21] Cf. Cheyne, Book of Isaiah chronologically arranged, p. 130, § 5. [22] The investigations of Persian scholars, especially of Haug, Spiegel and Windischmann show that this is a real Zoroastrian doctrine.

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connection that the chronological reckoning by weeks and days in the prophecies of Daniel is quite at variance with the usual custom of the Hebrew prophets who rarely set a definite time for the fulfillment of a prediction, but almost invariably give their dates in round numbers[23].

Impossibility of Babylonian Authorship.

It would be extremely difficult to reconcile all these facts, which will be discussed still further in the following chapters, with the theory of a Babylonian authorship for the Book, because, setting aside the marvel of such accurate prophecy relating to the Seleucidan period centuries before the events referred to, it would be natural to suppose that a prophet of the time of the Babylonian captivity would rather direct his attention to the freedom of his people from their immediate servitude in Babylon than from the oppression of a king who ruled several hundred years later. It would be more natural, therefore, to expect in an early work prophecies of the return of the Jews to Palestine, as in Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Isaiah, rather than the proclamation of an ideal Messianic kingdom such as we find in the second part of the Book of Daniel[24].

The significance of Daniel not destroyed.

It should not be said that Daniel loses any of its beauty and force because we are bound in the light of modern criticism to consider it a production of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, nor should conservative Bible readers exclaim because the historical accuracy of the work is thus destroyed. There can be no doubt that the influence of the Book was a very great one on the subsequent developement of Christianity, but it was not the influence of the history contained in

[23] Except the interpolated passage Is. vii. 8; in which connection, see Delitzsch, Isaiah, p. 137. [24] For the evident lateness of this part of the book cf. Bleek, Einl. p. 420; Strack, RE.[2] vii. p. 419; Hoffmann, Antiochus IV., pp. 82 ff.; Driver, Introd. p. 461. Derenbourg remarked rightly that the contents of C. ix, referring to Jerusalem, should remove all further doubt as to the late origin (Hebraica iv. p. 8).

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it which made itself felt, but rather of the sublime hope for a future deliverance which the author of Daniel never lost sight of.

Mention of Daniel in the N. T.

The allusion of our Lord to a prophecy contained in the Book of Daniel (Matth. xxiv. 15) has led many to assert that on this account only the authenticity of the work should not be questioned by true believers. This reference which is to the "abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the Prophet" shows merely that Jesus was referring to the book by its commonly accepted title. If the conservative critics could prove that our Lord meant his hearers to understand by these words that the quotation He was uttering was actually an expression used by the Prophet described in our book and that He intended thereby to stamp the work as an authentic production of a Prophet named Daniel who lived at the Babylonian court, then every true believer in the infallibility of the utterances of Jesus would be in duty bound to accept His dictum as final. Such a conclusion, however, is by no means justified by the context in which our Lord's words appear. In His vivid prophecy of the impending fall of Jerusalem, He simply made use of an apt quotation from a well-known work in order to illustrate and give additional force to His own prediction. We are no more bound by this citation to consider Daniel to be the work of a prophet who was contemporary with Nebuchadnezzar than we are compelled by the similar allusion of our Lord to the "Sign of the Prophet Jonah" (Matth. xii. 39–40) to regard the book attributed to that person as a genuine production of Jonah Ben Amittai the ancient prophet of Gath-Hepher who lived in the reign of Amaziah king of Judah in the eighth century B. C. (2 Kings xiv. 25).

The true Significance of Daniel.

To assert, furthermore, with some excellent Christian divines that with the authenticity of the Book of Daniel the whole

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prophetical structure of the Old Testament stands or falls is as illogical as the statement of Newton that he who denies Daniel's prophecies denies Christianity. If the book be properly understood it must not only be admitted that the author made no pretence at exactness of detail, but also that his "prophecies" were never intended to be other than an historical *resumé* clothed for the sake of greater literary vividness in a prophetic garb. It is very difficult to see how such a conclusion affects the authenticity of utterances of other authors which were really meant to be predictions of the future. If viewed in the proper light, the work of the author of Daniel cannot be called a forgery, but merely a consolatory political pamphlet, and it should certainly be possible for intelligent Christians to consider the Book just as powerful, viewed according to the author's evident intention, as a consolation to God's people in their dire distress at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, as if it were, what an ancient but mistaken tradition has made it, really an accurate account of events which took place at the close of the Babylonian period.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

THE ORIGIN OF THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL.

Owing to the great paucity of data at our disposal, the question regarding the origin of the historical material of the Book of Daniel is a very difficult one.

Daniel's Birth and Family.

For example, there are no means of ascertaining anything definite concerning the origin of the hero Daniel himself who appears as the central figure of the entire work. The account of the first chapter has been generally misunderstood. We are told in i. 3 that the king commanded the Chief Eunuch to bring "certain of the children of Israel, and of the king's seed,

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and of the nobles" to serve in the court. Many commentators have considered this to mean that some of the children were of the royal Judæan line and of Jewish noble families, an interpretation which is by no means justified by the wording of the passage. It is highly likely that the author simply meant to state that, while some of these youths were Jews, the others were of high rank in Babylonia. There is nothing in the text to indicate that he meant to convey the idea that they were of Jewish royal and noble stock. Some expositors, however, misled by this passage argued that the author of the Book was probably familiar with 2 Kings xxiv. 14–15 where it is definitely stated that Nebuchadnezzar carried away from Jerusalem all the Jewish nobility as well as the immediate family of king Jehoiakim. Josephus [1], never doubting the historical accuracy of Daniel, made the Prophet a relative of Zedekiah and consequently of Jehoiakim [2], a conclusion which he apparently drew from the same passage, i. 3. Pseudo-Epiphanius [3], on the other hand, undoubtedly having the same source in mind, thought that Daniel was the son of a Jewish noble family. The true Epiphanius [4] even gives the name of his father as Sabaan [5] and asserts that the Prophet was born in upper Beth-Horon, a village near Jerusalem.

Daniel's Life and Death.

The after life and death of the Seer are as obscure as his origin. The Biblical account gives little aid, as it is expressly stated that Daniel continued until the first year of

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[1] Ant. x. 10, 1. [2] Mattaniah or Zedekiah was the brother of Jehoiakim according to 2 Kings xxiv. 17, but according to 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10, he was the brother of Jehoiakin or Jeconiah. It has been suggested that Josephus may have confused his Zedekiah with the prince Zedekiah ben Hananiah, mentioned Jer. xxxvi. 12 (so Bertholdt, p. 4, but cf. Hävernick, p. 20). [3] C. x. on the Prophets. [4] Panarion, Adv. Haeres. 55, 3. [5] Hävernick derives this from צִבְעוֹן. According to the Persian apocryphal version of Daniel, referred to above p. 2, Daniel was one of the sons of Jehoiakin or Jeconiah (see Zotenberg *op. cit.* p. 38).

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Cyrus, but we find C. x. 1, one of his visions, dated in the third year of that king. According to certain Rabbinical authorities[6], Daniel went back to Jerusalem with the return of the captivity[7], as he is supposed to have been one of the founders of the mythical Great Synagogue. Other traditions affirm that he died in Babylonia and was buried in the royal vault[8], while the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela (12th century A. D.) was shown his tomb in Susa which is also mentioned by Abulfarâǵ. A good illustration of "Daniel's Tomb" at Susa will be found in Riehm's Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums, p. 1588. It is perfectly clear that the writer of the Book of Daniel did not even pretend to give a sketch of the Prophet's career, but contented himself with merely making him the central figure, about which to group the more or less disconnected narratives and accounts of visions. In view of this evident fact and also of the generally inaccurate character of all the historical statements in the work, there is really no evidence even to prove the existence of the Daniel described in the book bearing his name.

The Author's Source for this Character.

The question at once arises as to where the Maccabæan writer could have got the name Daniel and his idea of such a personality. It is hardly probable, in view of certain considerations about to be examined, that he could have invented both name and character out of whole cloth.

The Daniel of Ezekiel.

There is an allusion in the work of the Prophet Ezekiel to a Daniel[9] whom he places as a great personality between the two

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[6] Maimon in Heretii Demonstratio Evang. Paris. 1679. p. 231; Elias Levita in Massoreth ham-Massoreth, Semmler's translation, Halle, 1778. pp. 18; 25. [7] This idea may have arisen from i. 21, where it is stated that Daniel continued until the first year of Cyrus, e. g. the year when the first detachment of the Jews probably returned to Palestine. [8] For example, in the Martyrologium Romanum, Babylon is given as the probable place for his death. [9] Ezekiel xiv. 14; 20; xxviii. 3.

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well-known figures of Noah and Job. Ezekiel who was probably a man of ripe age at the time of the Babylonian deportation of the Jews would certainly not have mentioned a mere boy in the same breath with two such characters, much less have put him *between* them[10]. Certain commentators, however, have tried to see a peculiar appropriateness in such a juxtaposition[11]. Thus, it has been ingeniously suggested[12] that at the time of Ezekiel's first mention of Daniel, thirteen or fourteen years had passed since the deportation of the young Prophet, ten since his appointment to the position of Head Magus, as well as six[13] of common exile of Ezekiel and Daniel, and that during this time Daniel could have had ample opportunity to display his wisdom and win the distinction which Ezekiel gives him. Even if this be granted, it is still difficult to see how the Daniel of the Babylonian captivity could have deserved mention in such strange company and in such a position.

It seems probable that Ezekiel could not have considered his Daniel as a contemporary of his own, but, owing to the position given him between two Patriarchs, rather as some celebrated ancient prophet. Who this ancient prophet was cannot possibly be known, as there is not a single trace to guide research as to his origin and date. There can be no doubt, however, that he was as celebrated to Ezekiel as were both Noah and Job, which may be an indication that he is really a well-known character under the disguise of another name, although this is of course the merest conjecture[14].

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[10] See in this connection Reuss, *op. cit.* p. 593; Hitzig, p. viii, and Bertholdt, p. 7. [11] Pusey, Dan. p. 149, says that Job was put last, because his outward lot was more akin to what Ezekiel had to predict. Delitzsch RE. iii. p. 271 thought that Noah belonged to the old world, Daniel to the present and Job to the ideal age; hence the order (see also Max Werther, Abh. ü. d. Bab. Gefangenschaft 7tes Programm d. Evang. Fürstenschule zu Pless). [12] Kranichfeld, Dan. pp. 10–11; Keil, Dan. p. 3. [13] Ez. xl. 1. [14] For Example, Hitzig, p. viii, suggested that the Daniel of Ezekiel may be Melchizedek.

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A Similar Case in the New Testament.

The analogy of the reference in the New Testament to Jesus along with Moses and Elias[15] and with Job[16] has been cited by some as a parallel case, but it should be noticed that in no instance is Jesus mentioned *between* the two older names as is the Daniel of Ezekiel.

Not identical with the Maccabæan Daniel.

It is impossible to identify this mysterious Daniel, who is ranked by Ezekiel as one of the patriarchs, with the hero of the Maccabæan Book of Daniel[17], and it is even difficult, in the absence of all records, to establish any connection between them. The most that can be said in this connection is that there may really have been a spiritual leader of the captive Jews who lived at the Babylonian court and who was either actually named Daniel, perhaps after the unknown patriarch mentioned in Ezekiel, or to whom the same name had been given in the course of tradition by an historical confusion of persons[18]. Following this hypothesis, it must be assumed that the fame of this Judæo-Babylonian prophet had been handed down through the unclear medium of oral tradition until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, when some gifted Jewish author, feeling the necessity of producing a work which should console his people in their affliction under the persecutions of that monarch, seized upon the personality of this Seer, who lived during a time of persecution having many points of resemblance to the era of Antiochus Epiphanes, and moulded some of the legends then extant about the life and activity of the Prophet into such a form as would be best suited to a didactic purpose.

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[15] Matth. xvii. 4; Luke, ix. 33. [16] James, v. 11. [17] In the additions to the LXX., Pseudo-Daniel, xiv. 1, Daniel has been confused with the Levite mentioned Ezra viii. 2; Neh. x. 6. The Prophet is called ἱερεὺς ὀνόματι Δανιὴλ υἱὸς Ἀβδα (see also Zöckler, Dan. p. 9). [18] Quite a number of expositors disbelieve entirely in the existence of such a person as Daniel, considering that all the accounts referring to him were the fabrication of the Maccabæan author of the Book.

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The Material in the Narrative Chapters.

With regard to the origin of the stories embodied in the narrative chapters, but little is known definitely.

An Imitation of Genesis.

The account in C. ii of the promotion of Daniel to be governour of Babylon as a reward for his correct interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream is very probably an imitation of the story of Joseph in Gen. XL.–XLI[19]. The points of resemblance are very striking. In both accounts we have a young Hebrew raised by the favour of a heathen king to great political prominence, owing to his extraordinary God-given ability as soothsayer and interpreter of dreams. It is noticeable also that in both versions the heathen astrologers make the first attempt at solving the difficulty which results in ignominious failure, whereupon the pious Israelite, after being summoned to the royal presence, in both cases through the friendly intervention of a court official, triumphantly explains the matter to the king's satisfaction.

Babylonian Traditions.

It can be said with certainty regarding the narrative chapters that the fundamental traditions on which the following data are based descended from Babylonian times, although the author of Daniel received them in a highly distorted form and employed them merely as a kernel, about which to construct narratives illustrative of the moral lesson which he wished to inculcate: —

1. The writer's use of the name of Nebuchadnezzar and his statements regarding that king show that he had a dim idea of the extensive power and world-wide celebrity of the greatest of Babylonian monarchs.

2. The tale of the insanity of Nebuchadnezzar in C. iv. may be based on an actual occurrence in the great king's life.

3. The use of the name Belshazzar and parts of the story in C. v. concerning his fate have also an underlying basis of fact.

[19] Stade, Geschichte, ii. p. 324.

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4. Finally, the introduction in C. v. of the Queen Mother at the feast of Belshazzar shows the survival until Maccabæan times of a tradition regarding an actual personage who was alive shortly before the capture of Babylon by the Persians.

1. The Personality of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel and the Developement of the great King's Power.

Regarding the author's idea of Nebuchadnezzar's power, it may be inferred from the wording of the decrees which he attributes to that monarch, that the fame of the extent of the Babylonian influence during his reign had descended to the Maccabæan period, for it is stated in Daniel that each proclamation was issued to "all peoples, nations and races (languages) that dwell in the earth".

It is now well-known from the cuneiform inscriptions dating from the later Babylonian empire that the very summit of the Semitic power in Western Asia was reached during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.

The Assyrian Conquests.

The later kings of Assyria, especially since the accession of the usurper Sargon in 722 B. C. (the year of the fall of Samaria), had been constantly engaged in extending and strengthening the conquests which had been begun as early as 1100 B. C. by the first Assyrian Tiglathpileser. When Sargon came to the throne in Nineveh, he received as an inheritance from Tiglathpileser iii. (745–727), one of his immediate predecessors, the whole of Mesopotamia, including all the Babylonian provinces on the South which had long been subject to the Assyrian overlordship, as well as most of the country now known as Armenia on the north, the greater part of Media on the east, and all of Syria-Palestine on the west. Not content with this immense territory, which of course required constant attention to keep intact, Sargon pushed his conquests still farther into what is now called Asia Minor and even subjugated the greater part of the island of Cyprus. His two

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successors Esarhaddon (681–668) and Ašurbânipal (668–626) extended their Median territory still further on the east, completed the conquest of Cyprus and subdued the whole of lower Egypt. When in 606, under one of Ašurbânipal's successors, Nineveh was razed to the ground by Cyaxares and his infuriated Medes, who had been chafing for years under the odious Assyrian tyranny, the overlordship of the Assyrian tributary states did not, as one might expect, pass to the victorious Median dynasty which was not yet sufficiently developed in civilization to be able to manage such a territory, but was immediately inherited by Assyria's most powerful and nearest vassal, the older Semitic state of Babylonia, whose throne was ascended in 604 by Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabopolassar.

Nebuchadnezzar's Glory.

This monarch (604–561) was able not only to keep intact the empire which he had inherited, which may be seen, for example, by his vigorous suppression of the rebellious Judæan vassal kings Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, but also found sufficient leisure practically to rebuild the city of Babylon which he made the wonder of the then known world[20]. Nearly every cuneiform document now extant dating from this monarch's reign treats, not of conquest and warfare, like those of his Assyrian predecessors, but of the building and restoration of the walls, temples and palaces of his beloved city of Babylon. The words, therefore, found in Daniel iv. 30 which the author put into the mouth of Nebuchadnezzar are literally the truth. "Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of my kingdom by the might of my power and for the honour of my majesty?" Such a sentence might well have been uttered by the greatest of Babylonian monarchs and it cannot be denied that we have here, as well as in the general conception of Nebuchadnezzar's character through-

[20] Cf. Herodotus, i. 192 ff., on the Babylonians.

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out the book, a glimmering of true history shining trough the obscurity of the confused traditions employed by the author of Daniel.

2. The strange Insanity of Nebuchadnezzar.

The story of Nebuchadnezzar's temporary lunacy next demands our attention. The author states (iv. 31, ff.) that the great king, as a punishment for his rebellion against the Most High, "was driven from men, and did eat grass like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws". In the course of time, however, Nebuchadnezzar's reason was restored to him and he returned to his throne with a better understanding of the divine power.

Two Parallel Accounts.

There are two parallel accounts relating to a mental disorder of Nebuchadnezzar which should be cited in this connection.

a) Josephus, quoting from the works of the Babylonian priest Berossus, refers to the illness of Nebuchadnezzar in the following strange words: "Nebuchadnezzar, falling into a state of weakness, altered his (manner of) life when he had reigned 43 years; whereupon his son Evilmerodach obtained the kingdom"[21]. In other words, that the great king became in some way disabled and that for this reason he was succeeded by his son before his death. There is no allusion here to a subsequent restoration of Nebuchadnezzar's power, nor is the peculiar nature of his state of disability described, both of which details are supplied by the Book of Daniel.

b) Besides this, Eusebius, who is rightly known as the father of Church history, relates the following marvellous story of Nebuchadnezzar's end, quoting from the earlier authority Abydenus[22]: "On a certain occasion the king went up to the roof of his palace and after prophesying the coming of

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[21] *Ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀρρωστίαν μετηλλάξατο τὸν βίον.* Cf. Apion, i. 20.
[22] Nothing is known of the date or nationality of Abydenus.

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the Persian Cyrus and his conquest of Babylon, *suddenly disappeared*"[23].

Points of Agreement.

There is one point of agreement between all three records and two between the non-Biblical accounts; viz., all three stories agree that Nebuchadnezzar was at one time seriously affected either bodily or mentally, while Berossus and Abydenus are at one in the statement that this disturbance was directly followed by his disappearance, e. g. retirement from public life. The Biblical account and the version of Abydenus differ regarding the nature and effect of the king's illness, while the story of Berossus is strictly non-committal in this particular.

An Historical Basis for the Legend.

In view of the comparatively trustworthy character of the record of Berossus[24], as well as of the partial agreement as to this matter of three accounts of widely different origin, we are forced to believe, in spite of the silence on the subject of the extant cuneiform documents, that there is some basis of historical fact for this strange statement of the author of Daniel. Nothing is known regarding the death of Nebuchadnezzar, nor indeed is there any record in the cuneiform literature of his son *Amel-Marduk* (the Evilmerodach of 2 Kings) except three contracts which are dated in the first year of the reign of this king. His name is mentioned in the Old Testament as the king who released the captive

[23] Eusebius, Praep. ix. 41; Chron. i. 59. [24] Berossus was a Babylonian priest of Bel, probably a contemporary of Alexander the Great. He wrote an extensive work on the manners and beliefs of the Babylonians which has unfortunately been lost. The extracts and quotations from his work which are now extant all occur in the works of later writers, probably at third hand. There can be little doubt that Berossus had access to and was able to read the cuneiform records, because the data given in the fragments of his work are quite generally confirmed by a comparison with the recently discovered cuneiform inscriptions.

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Judæan monarch Jehoiakin from prison (2 Kings xxv. 27). The Ptolemæan Canon also mentions his name, stating that he reigned two years, while Berossus alludes to him as the son of Nebuchadnezzar and a dissolute worthless character. There is nowhere any record as to whether he began to reign during his father's life-time, nor any account regarding the death of Nebuchadnezzar. It is not impossible, however, that the great king was afflicted by a form of insanity which incapacitated him from governing and necessitated the accession of his son. In fact, the partial agreement of the three accounts renders it highly probable that the king really became insane. The agreement of Berossus and Abydenus that his insanity was followed, according to one account by the accession of Evilmerodach, and according to the other version by his *disappearance,* would lead us to believe that the disease which attacked Nebuchadnezzar was the cause of his retirement. The account in Daniel which makes his insanity come upon him as a punishment for his contumacy in refusing to recognize the God of the Jews, and which states that the great king was eventually restored to his senses, after which act of divine mercy he immediately acknowledged the power of Daniel's God, is undoubtedly the Jewish version of the tradition. The necessity of restoring the king to health is of course obvious to every one who recognizes the didactic aim of the Book of Daniel, so that we must consider this touch, as well as the idea that the insanity was a divine punishment sent to chasten Nebuchadnezzar, as embellishments introduced by the Maccabæan author.

Character of the Disease.

The disease as described by the writer of Daniel is the form of Melancholia known as *Insania Zoanthropica*[25], undoubtedly identical with the mediæval "lycanthropy", in which

[25] See Trusen, Sitten, Gebräuche und Krankheiten der alten Hebräer. 1853.

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the sufferer, imagining himself to be an animal, generally of a ferocious nature such as a wolf, roamed about the forests in a wild state, often actually killing and devouring human beings. A somewhat milder form of this disease is not unknown to alienists at the present day[26].

3. Belshazzar.

The author's statements regarding the ancestry and death of Belshazzar are a curious mixture of true and false traditions. Previous to the discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions, it was very generally considered that the name Belshazzar was invented by the author of Daniel[27]. It is now universally admitted, however, that the name of the person mentioned in the fifth chapter as king of Babylon is identical with the Babylonian form *Belšaruçur* which bas been discovered in the cuneiform documents[28] as the name of the eldest son of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon[29].

References in the Inscriptions.

Among the various allusions to this prince in the cuneiform literature, the most important are those in the two inscriptions of Ur, and in the annals of Nabonidus, which is the chief document relating to the fall of Babylon[30]. As

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[26] Cf..Welcher, Allgem. Ztschr. für Psychiatrie, ix. Heft 1, and for this entire question, Schrader, Die Sage vom Wahnsinn Nebukadnezars, Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie, vii. pp. 629 ff. [27] So v. Lengerke, Dan. p. 204; Hitzig, Dan. p. 75. [28] Sir Henry Rawlinson in the *Athenæum*. March, 1854, p. 341, "A letter from Bagdad." See also Oppert, ZDMG. viii. p. 598. [29] The name occurs in the inscriptions as that of probably two other persons: a) In Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, ii. p. 60, l. 59, where the ruler of the city of the *Kišeši*, one of the tribes conquered by Sargon, is called *Belšaruçur*. b) The *Belšaruçur* son of *Balâṭu* mentioned by Pinches in the New York *Independent*, 1889, Aug. 15, is probably not, as he thinks, the son of Nabonidus but of some ordinary person, possibly of some one named after the king's son (?). For the proper name *Balâṭu*, see Peiser, Babylonische Verträge, No. ix. l. 2; ZA. vii. p. 66, 2. [30] See Additional Note iii.

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the reference in the small inscription[31] of Ur is the most complete and consequently the most important, a translation and transcription are here given. In this document Nabonidus speaks as follows:

Balâṭu ša ûme ruqûti	*Life for long days*
ana širiqti šurqâm	*give as a gift to me*
u ša Belšaruçur	*and cause to dwell*
mâru rêštû	*in the heart of Belshazzar*
çît libbiya	*my first born son,*
puluxti ilûtika rabîti	*the offspring of my body,*
libbuš šuškinma	*reverence for thy great God-*
â iršâ	*head. May he ne'er incline*
xiṭêti	*to sin,*
lale balâṭu lišbi	*may he be filled with the*
	fulness of life.

In the second column of the great inscription of Ur[32], the king, after describing the restoration of the temple of *Ebarra* and offering a devout petition to *Šamaš*, the sun-god, that the sacred shrines may now remain uninjured, closes with a prayer for his own well being and with a supplication for *Belšaruçur* his first-born in almost the same words as the above.

Why Belšaruçur is mentioned here.

Why this especial mention of the king's son occurs in these inscriptions of Ur is doubtful. It may be conjectured with Tiele[33] that *Belšaruçur* was governour of this province in Southern Babylonia and had Ur as his capital, or it is possible that Nabonidus attached some special religious importance to

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[31] Text, I. R. 68, col. ii. 22—23, and Winckler's Keilschrifttexte, p. 43. Translation, JRAS. xix. (1861), pp. 195 ff.; repeated also, RP. v. pp. 143 ff., Talbot: Oppert, Expedition en Mesopotamie, i. p. 262. [32] KB. iii. pt. 2, p. 82: *Belšaruçur mâru rêštû . . . çît (?) libbiya šûriku ûmešu, â iršâ xiṭêti,* "Belshazzar my first born . . . the offspring of my body, make long his days, may he not incline to sin." Peiser transcribes in the KB. *lu (?) ux bi a,* probably *çît (?) libbiya.* [33] Geschichte, p. 463.

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the cult of the moon-god local in this place. The petition here that the king's son might not incline to sin may perhaps indicate that the prince had in some way offended the prejudices of the religious classes, who, as is well known, supervised the preparation of the inscriptions. From the allusion to the prince in the annals of Nabonidus it appears that the son of the king was a number of years [34] with the lords and army in Akkad, most probably in the capacity of commander-in-chief, while his father was residing in Tema free from the cares of government. It is worthy of notice here that in the annals the name *Belšaruçur* does not occur, the allusion being merely to the 'son of the king'; but there can be little doubt that the reference is to the first-born.

Other Allusions in the Inscriptions.

In addition to these three passages from the historical literature, there are numbers of references to *Belšaruçur* in the contract tablets, none of which, however, throw any further important historical light on his character [35].

Belšaruçur an important Person.

As *Belšaruçur* is the only king's son mentioned with such prominence in the Babylonian inscriptions [36], and as it is especially stated that the lords of the kingdom and army were with him (probably under his supervision) in Akkad, it seems highly probable that he was a very important personage in

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[34] Annals, col. ii. 5, during the seventh year of Nabonidus; col. ii. 10, during the 10th year. See also col. ii 19 and 23. [35] See Additional Note iv. [36] Compare, however, Nabopol. col. ii. 69. KB. iii. pt. 2, 4, mention of Nebuchadnezzar; and col. iii. 6 ff. of *Nabušulišir*, his brother. In later documents mention is made of Cambyses, son of Cyrus, as co-regent and king of Babylon during his father's lifetime. See Tiele, Geschichte, pp. 483; 484 and BA. iii. pp. 445—6. In the inscription of Antiochus Soter, V. R. 66, 25 (KB. iii. pt. 2, p. 138, 25), mention is made of Seleucus, his son and vice-king. Delattre, Solomon, Asurbanipal et Baltasar, 1883, p. 5, compares, in connection with *Belšaruçur*, the cases of Solomon and *Ašurbânipal*, both of whom exercised the vice-regal dignity during the life of their respective fathers.

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the government, a theory which is strengthened by the fact that his father, Nabonidus, was more of an archæologist than a ruler, and far more interested in the discovery of a forgotten site than in the affairs of his kingdom. *Belšaruçur*, therefore, as some critics have argued [37], may have really been co-regent; but, as will be seen subsequently, the author of the Book of Daniel could not, as they thought, have had this idea in mind in calling him king of Babylon.

Differences between the Book of Daniel and the Inscriptions.

Comparing the *Belšaruçur* of the inscriptions with Belshazzar of the Book of Daniel, the following important differences are apparent. The former was the son of the last king of Babylon, but never reigned except possibly as co-regent, while the latter is distinctly called the last king and the son of Nebuchadnezzar. There can be little doubt that both of these statements were made by the author of Daniel in perfect good faith.

The Author of Daniel thought Belshazzar was the last king.

A number of commentators [38] have sought to prove that the Belshazzar of the Book of Daniel was not necessarily meant

[37] Floigl, Cyrus und Herodot, p. 24; Andreä, Beweis des Glaubens, 1888. p. 249; Smith, Dictionary of the Bible; Meinhold, Dissertation, p. 30. n. 2, etc. [38] So Marsham, Canon chron., pp. 596 ff.; Conring, Advers. Chron. c. xiii; Harenberg, Dan. ii. pp. 454 ff.; Hofmann, Die 70 Jahre d. Jeremia u. d. 70 Jahrwochen d. Daniel, p. 44; Hävernick, Neue kritische Unters., pp. 72 ff.; M. v. Niebuhr, Geschichte Assurs u. Babels, p. 42; Wolff, Stud. u. Krit., 1858, p. 684, note a; Zündel, Dan. p. 33; Unger, Kyaxares u. Astyages pp. 28–9. Keil, Dan. p. 145, although knowing of the discovery of the name in the inscriptions, thought that the *Belšaruçur*, son of Nabonidus, must have been named after Belshazzar-Evilmerodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar. Quatremere, Annales de la Philosophie Chrétienne, 1838, advanced the theory in support of Jer. xxvii. 7 that Nabonidus as an usurper, associated with himself Belshazzar, son of Evilmerodach and grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, in order to strengthen his position. The view that Belshazzar and Nabonidus were identical was held by Josephus (Ant. x. 11, 2), where he states that "Baltasar" was called "Naboandelus" by the Babylonians. Cf. also "Contra Apionem," i. c. 20. This idea was

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by the author as the last king of Babylon, but was intended for Evilmerodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar[39]; a view advanced in support of the statement in *v.* 2, that Belshazzar was the son of Nebuchadnezzar. Following this theory, some considered Belshazzar merely a secondary name[40]. It is difficult to understand, however, how the author could make Daniel declare to the Babylonian monarch that *his* kingdom was about to pass to the Medes and Persians, unless the prophecy were intended for the last king. There would be little point in such a warning, if it were given a generation before its actual fulfillment. We may compare in this connection the indifference of Hezekiah to the prophecy of Isaiah of the ultimate deportation to Babylon and degradation there of the Jewish royal family. In Isaiah xxxix. 8, Hezekiah said "Good is the word of the Lord, which thou hast spoken ... for there shall be peace and truth in *my* days". In addition to this, it is evident that if the author of Daniel did not really regard his Belshazzar as the last king of Babylon, but as Evilmerodach, he must have omitted without mention a period of twenty years between the death of the latter and the foreign supremacy; *i. e.* that between the two contiguous and closely related statements of the death of Belshazzar and the accession of Darius the Mede, the reigns of several kings were passed

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followed by J. D. Michaelis, Dan. p. 46; Bertholdt, Dan. p. 344; Bleek, Kirms, Hengstenberg; Hävernick, Dan. p. 172; Ewald Gesch., v. p. 85, note; Herzfeld, Gesch., i. p. 154; Browne, Ordo Saeclorum, p. 178. — Sulpitius Severus, Hist., ii. p. 6, considered Belshazzar a younger brother of Evilmerodach, both being sons of Nebuchadnezzar. — Scaliger (see Isagogicorum chronologiæ canonum libri tres., iii. p. 190) and Calvisius, who were followed by Ebrard, Comm. zur Offenbarung Johannis, p. 45, and Delitzsch RE.[2], iii. p. 472, identified him with Laborosoarchod *(Labašimarduk)*, son of Neriglissar.

[39] The list of the later Babylonian kings is as follows: Nabopolassar, 625—604; Nebuchadnezzar, 604—561; *Amel-Marduk* (Evilmerodach), 561—559; *Labaši-Marduk,* 559: reigned only 9 months; Neriglissar, 559—555; Nabonidus, 555—538; Cyrus took Babylon, 538. [40] So Zündel, Dan. p. 26; Niebuhr, Gesch. p. 30, etc.

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over in silence. That an author should do this knowingly without a word of explanation, as some writers have sought to show, seems a preposterous supposition[41]. It appears perfectly clear that the Biblical author regarded Belshazzar as the last king of Babylon before the coming of the Medes and Persians.

Belshazzar not Co-Regent.

As remarked above, certain critics have held the view that because *Belšaruçur* may have been co-regent with his father, the Biblical writer, knowing this, gave his Belshazzar the title of king. A conclusive answer to this has been given by Professor Driver who states[42] that there are certain contract tablets published by Strassmaier and bearing date continuously from the reign of Nabonidus to that of Cyrus, which show that neither Belshazzar nor Darius the Mede (supposing the latter to have been historical) could have received the title of king in any capacity whatsoever. If Belshazzar really had been co-regent, however, we would not expect to find him with the unqualified title "King of Babylon" without any further explanation. Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, was undoubtedly co-regent and bore the title King of Babylon during his father's life-time, but in the contract which dates from his first year it is expressly stated that Cyrus was still "king of the lands". This statement should be contrasted with Dan. viii. 1, where reference is made to the third year of "Belshazzar, King of Babylon", without any mention of another over-ruler. Had the author of Daniel really believed that Belshazzar was co-regent it is reasonable to suppose that he would in some way have qualified the title "King of Babylon".

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[41] Cf. Zündel and Kranichfeld, Dan. pp. 25; 28, who believed that Belshazzar was Evilmerodach, and explained this silence regarding the intervening period and the connection of two statements so far apart, by supposing that they were brought together because the latter was the sequence of the former! [42] Introduction[3], p. xxii.

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Belshazzar not the Son of Nebuchadnezzar.

Furthermore, the statement that Belshazzar was the son of Nebuchadnezzar shows conclusively that the historical knowledge of the author of Daniel was considerably at fault. Certain commentators have endeavoured to prove that this statement may be in accordance with the facts, *i. e.* that "son" here is to be translated "descendant" or "grandson". It is of course perfectly true, as Dr. Pusey has remarked, that אב and בן (Aramaic בר) are used, not only of the actual father and son, but also of the grandfather or grandson, and ancestor or descendant in general[43]. The way, however, in which Nebuchadnezzar is referred to in the fifth chapter shows plainly that the author could have had no knowledge of the intervening kings, but considered Nebuchadnezzar as the actual father of Belshazzar. In the *first* place, the narrative of chapter v. follows directly on the chapters concerning Nebuchadnezzar and begins with the unqualified assertion that Belshazzar was the son of that monarch; and *secondly*, the remark of Belshazzar in *v.* 13, "so thou art Daniel.... whom the king my father brought from Judæa", would be ambiguous if the king were referring to his grandfather or an ancestor. In this case we would expect the repetition of the name Nebuchadnezzar to indicate to which "father" the king was alluding. But even if the words "father" and "son" of the fifth chapter really were used for "grandson" and "grandfather", there is no proof that *Belšaruçur* was in any way related to Nebuchadnezzar[44]. Nabonidus, his

[43] Compare Pusey, Dan. p. 346. There is no distinctive word, either in Hebrew or Aramaic for grandfather or grandson. In later Hebrew, Buxtorf gives זָקֵן, "grandfather", fem. זְקֵנָה. [44] Auberlen, Dan., p. 16, thought that Belshazzar was called son of Nebuchadnezzar, just as Omri was considered by the Assyrians as father of the house of Israel. "Father", however, cannot be used of the unrelated predecessors, as Pusey (Dan., p. 347) sought to show. Wherever it is used in this connection, as in the above cited case, it is an error as to the real relationship. The passage in Sargon which Pusey cites in support of his view, believing that Sargon was no relation to the preceding kings, is very doubtful, and probably does not contain the words

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father, was the son of a nobleman, *Nabubalaṭsuiqbi*[45], and was probably a leader in the conspiracy against his predecessor, *Labaši-Marduk.* As far as is known, he was not related to any of the preceding kings. Had Nabonidus been descended from Nebuchadnezzar he could hardly have failed to boast of such a connection with the greatest Babylonian monarch, yet in none of his inscriptions does he trace his descent beyond his father. Some scholars have tried to obviate the difficulty by supposing that Nabonidus, in order to strengthen his dynasty, married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, and that in this way *Belšaruçur* was the great king's grandson, a theory which in the absence of records cannot possibly be proved[46].

Identity of Belšaruçur and Belshazzar.

The similarity of name and the facts, *first,* that the historical *Belšaruçur* of the inscriptions was the son of the last king of Babylon, while the Belshazzar of Daniel is represented as being himself the last king, and, *secondly,* that it has been established quite lately, that the son of Nabonidus probably met his death at the time of the capture of Babylon, in partial agreement with the Biblical account concerning Belshazzar, prove beyond reasonable doubt that the son of Nabonidus is the original of the king in the Biblical account[47].

šarru abiya, "the king, my father". Cf. Winckler's Sargon, ii., xiii., but also Tiele, Gesch. p. 254—5, rem. 2.

[45] KB. iii. pt. 2, p. 96, line 6. [46] Note that Bertholdt, Bleek, Kirms, Hävernick, Hitzig and Schrader, are all agreed that the author considered Belshazzar the son of Nebuchadnezzar. [47] Talbot, Records of the Past, v. p. 143, doubts the identity of the Biblical Belshazzar with the *Belšaruçur* of the inscriptions, supposing that the account is told of some other person with this name, which he asserts to be a common one. As the name *Belšaruçur* occurs only twice in the published inscriptions of another than the son of Nabonidus (see below, Additional Note iv.), until the hypothetical "other person" be discovered, it is certainly consistent with good judgment to regard *Belšaruçur,* son of Nabonidus and the Belshazzar of Daniel as identical.

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Main Theme of C. v.

The force of the story would have been materially weakened had the author known and made use of the names of the kings intervening between Nebuchadnezzar and the last king. The whole point of the fifth chapter, as brought out, for example, in the mysterious sentence, is a comparison between the great Nebuchadnezzar, the real founder of the Babylonian monarchy; the insignificant last king who had allowed the reins of government to slip from his feeble hands; and the coming stranger people who should divide between them the empire of Nebuchadnezzar.

4. The Queen-Mother.

The last point which should be noticed in this connection is the introduction of the queen-mother, *i. e.* the mother of Nabonidus, into the story. According to *v.* 10, the queen entered the hall and suggested that the Jewish prophet Daniel be called to interpret the mysterious writing. There can be little doubt that the author was referring to the Queen Dowager, the mother of the last king of Babylon. The mother of Nabonidus, however, died in the ninth year of his reign, as is now known from the Annals, c. ii. 13, just eight years before the occupation of Babylon by Cyrus, so that her presence at a feast held towards the close of the reign of Nabonidus would be clearly impossible. It might be argued that the reference in C. v. may be to the wife of Nabonidus, the mother of *Belšaruçur*, but, as we have seen, there is little doubt that the author of Daniel regarded Belshazzar (*Belšaruçur*) as actually king and knew nothing of Nabonidus; so it seems only possible to assert that he considered the queen alluded to in this verse as the reigning monarch's mother, concerning whom some tradition had most probably descended to Maccabæan times. As the author had evidently confused the personality of Nabonidus and his son *Belšaruçur*, it was only natural that he or the tradition which he was using should

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introduce the Queen Dowager as the mother of the latter whom he supposed to have been actually King.

The Subject Matter.

The four important points just discussed constitute all the data which can be said with certainty to have descended from the Babylonian times, e. g. from the very period in which the scene of the work is laid. The subject matter of the stories, on the other hand, must be considered, either to be the fabrication of the writer of the Book, or else, to consist of adaptations by the author of extremely inaccurate current popular tales. This latter theory seems more satisfactory than the former view, because, as has been shown, in at least one case the writer probably remodelled a scriptural account, in order to suit his own purpose, and it is not improbable, therefore, that he may have made use of other non-Biblical tales of whose origin nothing is known.

CHAPTER FIFTH.

DARIUS THE MEDE.

The chronological errors regarding the accession of Nebuchadnezzar, the contradictory statement concerning the date of his dream, as well as the historically incorrect assertion that Belshazzar was the son of Nebuchadnezzar have already been brought to the reader's notice. A special chapter, however, is needed to consider the most serious error into which the author of Daniel fell; viz., the statement (v. 31) that a Median king, Darius, received the kingdom after the fall of the native Babylonian house.

Cyrus the Conqueror of Babylon.

It is well known that Babylon was captured by Cyrus the Persian, who, some time previously, had obtained possession of Media and its King Astyages. It is evident too, from Daniel

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i. 21; x. 1. that the Biblical writer was perfectly aware of the existence of Cyrus. From his introduction of a Median Darius directly after the fall of Belshazzar, it must be concluded that the author of the Book of Daniel believed in the existence of a Median king between the Babylonian and Persian dynasties. The fact, however that in no other scriptural passage[1] is mention made of any Median ruler between the last king of Babylon and Cyrus, and the absolute silence of the most authoritative ancient authors regarding such a king, have cast serious doubt on the accuracy of the Book of Daniel in this particular.

Xenophon's Cyaxares.

Various attempts have been made to vindicate the historical character of this Darius the Mede[2]. The opinion has been very generally advanced that he was identical with the Cya-

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[1] See Isaiah, xliv. ff. Compare also the legend of Bel and the Dragon, verse 1, and the Greek translations LXX. and Θ of. Dan. xi. 1, where the name of Cyrus is substituted for that of Darius. [2] Note in this connection, Josephus, Ant. x. 11, 4, followed by Jerome on Dan. v. 1; vi. 1 (Opp. ed. Vallarsi, t. v. pp. 651; 657), Josephus stated that Babylon was captured by Darius who was the son of Astyages and had another name among the Greeks. Many commentators attempted to prove the historical character of Darius the Mede; Delitzsch, Hävernick, Hengstenberg etc. Some expositors considered that this Darius was identical with Astyages; thus, Syncellus, Chron. p. 232, Niebuhr and more lately Unger, Cyaxares und Astyages, pp. 26—28. Others sought to show that Darius the Mede was a near relative of Astyages. Compare Quatremere, Mémoires sur Darius le Mede et Baltasar, pp. 380—381, who considered him Astyages' nephew. Ibn Ezra (Hitzig, Dan. p. 76), thought that he was the father-in-law of Cyrus. Klein, Schulz, *op. cit.*, p. 684, and Zündel regarded him as a younger brother of Astyages. Ebrard Scheuchzer, Scaliger, in the Appendix of his De emend. temporum and in Isagogicorum chronologiae canonum libri tres. iii. pp. 291 and 315, Petavius, and Buddeus, (see Zöckler, p. 34) thought him identical with Nabonidus. Conring, Advers. Chron., c. 13, Bouhier, Dissertation sur Herodote, p. 29, Harenberg, ii. pp. 434 ff., regarded him as identical with Neriglissar. Hengstenberg, Dan., p. 328, identified him with Bahman, who according to Persian tradition (Mirchond) dethroned Belshazzar and appointed Cyrus; but cf. v. Lengerke, Dan., pp. 224 ff. etc., etc.

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xares, son of Astyages, mentioned in Xenophon's Cyropædia[3], and in support of this theory reference has been made to the lines of Æschylus, *Persæ,* 762–765:—

> "The first commander of the army was a Median.
> Then his son completed the work;
> For his good sense governed his zeal.
> The third after him was Cyrus, a prosperous man[4]," etc.

This "first Commander of the army" was supposed to refer to Astyages, while the "son" of the following line was understood to be the Cyaxares mentioned in the Cyropædia[5]. As a further proof of identity, the age of the Darius of Daniel, sixty-two years, has been cited as a point of agreement with the account that Cyaxares, having no hope of a male heir owing to his age, gave Cyrus his daughter and made him his successor[6].

Xenophon and Herodotus.

It may be well in this connection to compare the data of Xenophon regarding the last Median kings with those of Herodotus on the same subject. It should be noticed, *first,* that Herodotus ends the Median dynasty with Astyages, while

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[3] Cf. Xen. Cyrop., i. 5, 2. *Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὁ μὲν Ἀστυάγης ἐν τοῖς Μήδοις ἀποθνήσκει, ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης ὁ τοῦ Ἀστυάγους παῖς, τῆς δὲ Κύρου μητρὸς ἀδελφὸς, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε τῶν Μήδων.* — For the opinion that Darius the Mede was identical with Cyaxares, see, for example, Hävernick, Dan., p. 206; Keil, Dan., p. 165; Kranichfeld, Dan., p. 44; Lengerke, Dan., p. 220; Andreä, Beweis d. Glaubens, xxv. p. 57, Meinhold Dissertation, pp. 33 ff., and others mentioned above.

[4] *Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ.*
Ἄλλος δ'ἐκείνου παῖς τόδ' ἔργον ἤνυσε.
Φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν οἰακοστρόφουν.
Τρίτος δ'ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κῦρος, εὐδαίμων ἀνήρ.

[5] So Hitzig, Dan., p. 77; Keil, Dan., p. 165. [6] See Cyropædia, viii. 5, 19 and Hävernick, Dan., p. 206. Some commentators, who identified Xenophon's Cyaxares with the Median Darius, explained the silence of Herodotus and other writers regarding Cyaxares by supposing that the latter reigned too short a time to have given his name to history; but this does not, of course, explain the silence of Xenophon himself in the Anabasis about the fabulous Cyaxares.

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Xenophon adds a son, Cyaxares. *Secondly*, according to Herodotus, Cyrus was only related to the Median house by being the son of Astyages' daughter. Xenophon adds to this that Cyrus married the daughter of Cyaxares (his first cousin), and inherited with her the Median empire. *Thirdly*, according to the account of Herodotus, Cyrus took part in the rebellion instigated by Harpagus and conquered his grandfather Astyages, capturing Media. Herodotus' account of the conquest of Babylon contains no reference to any Median prince. Xenophon relates, however, that Cyrus, after quarreling with Cyaxares, became reconciled to him and gave him royal honors after the Babylonian campaign. Herodotus, as will be seen from the above[7], had no knowledge of any Median king between Astyages and Cyrus, nor of any special Median occupation of Babylon, and in this respect his account is substantiated by the cuneiform records. It should be noticed that neither Berossus nor any other ancient author knows of a Median rule after the fall of Babylon[8].

The Cuneiform Records.

In the annals of Nabonidus and the Cyrus Cylinder, no mention whatever occurs of any ruler of Media between Astyages and Cyrus[9] nor of any king of Babylon intervening between Nabonidus and Cyrus. On the contrary, it is stated that Cyrus became master of Media by conquering Astyages, and that the troops of the King of Persia, capturing Babylon, took Nabonidus prisoner. Cyrus himself entered the city nine months later.

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[7] Cf. also Ktesias, Pers. ii. 5; Diodorus Siculus, ii. 24. [8] For the legends regarding Cyrus in general and especially in connection with the account of Herodotus, cf. Floigl, Cyrus und Herodot; Bauer, Die Cyrussage, etc. For the chronology of Cyrus' reign see Tiele, Gesch. p. 483; Budinger, Die neuentdeckten Inschriften über Cyrus, 1884. p. 39 and Oppert and Menant, Documents Juridiques, p. 262, and see below Comm. on vii. 1. [9] Annals, ii. 1—4.

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Identification of Darius and Cyaxares impossible.

In view of these facts, it is difficult to see where an intermediate reign can be inserted, either in Media, directly after Astyages, or in Babylonia after Nabonidus. It should be mentioned, moreover, that the Cyaxares of the Cyropædia is not recorded as having ruled in Babylon, but merely to have received royal quarters in that city[10]. An identification between Darius the Mede and the Cyaxares, son of Astyages, of Xenophon's romance, is, therefore, open to the serious objection that the existence of this latter person, contrary to all other accounts, is extremely doubtful. It should be remembered that the narrative of the Cyropædia resembles the Book of Daniel in that it was not written for an historical but for a moral purpose. It is enough to quote Cicero, who remarked "Cyrus was not described by Xenophon for the sake of giving a true account, but rather as the model of a just ruler"[11]. It is perhaps a little harsh, therefore, to characterize Xenophon's work, with Niebuhr as a "miserable and foolish romance"[12]. With respect to the peaceful succession of Cyrus to the Median Empire, Xenophon, in his more historical work, the Anabasis, iii. 4, expressly stated that the Medes succumbed to the victorious arms of Cyrus. The Cyropædia, therefore, representing the peaceful passage of the empire of the East from Astyages to Cyaxares his son, and from the latter to Cyrus, can only be giving some fanciful embellishment.

Origin of Xenophon's Cyaxares.

It is probable that this Cyaxares of the Cyropædia arose from a confusion of facts. The father of Astyages was the famous Cyaxares, and Xenophon, by a confusion of history, must have believed, when writing his romance, that Astyages preceded Cyaxares, and that the latter was the last king of

[10] Cyropædia, viii. 5, 17. [11] Ad Quintum Fratrem, Lib. i. 1, 8: *Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiae fidem scriptus est, sed ad effigiem justi imperii.* [12] *"Einen elenden und läppischen Roman"* (Vorträge über alte Gesch. i. p. 116).

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his dynasty [13]. Even had this fabulous second Cyaxares existed, however, an identification between him and Darius the Mede, would be impossible, owing to the difference of the names of their respective fathers. The latter is called in chapter ix. 1, the son of Ahasuerus (Xerxes), a name which could never be considered the same as Astyages.

The Darius of Eusebius.

The attempt to identify the Darius of Daniel with the King Darius mentioned in the Armenian Chronicle of Eusebius [14] can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. According to this passage it is stated that after Cyrus gave the last king of Babylon the province of Carmania, Darius drove out some one from that region; probably Nabonidus. There is every reason to believe that this Darius is no other than Darius Hystaspis [15]. It is possible that Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, whom Cyrus dethroned in 538 B. C., and, according to the record of Berossus, sent to Carmania, may have remained in that province until the time of Darius Hystaspis. The Persian king, perhaps enraged by some attempt of Nabonidus to rebel, may have expelled him from his province as the account of Megasthenes seems to state. The idea can hardly be entertained that there is an allusion here to an earlier Darius.

The Coin Darik.

Finally, the argument based on the authority of Suidas and Harpocration [16], that the coin *darik,* was called, not after

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[13] Delattre, Medes, p. 170. [14] Armenian Chron. ed. Schoene, i. p. 41, quoting from the account of Abydenus from Megasthenes. [15] Even Pusey, Dan. p. 159 had to admit that this was possible; see also Kranichfeld, Dan. p. 45; v. Lengerke, Dan. p. 228. [16] Suidas said *Δαρεικοὶ .... οὐκ ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου πατρός, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑτέρου τινὸς παλαιοτέρου βασιλέως ὠνομάσθησαν.* See also Hultsch, Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae, i. p. 345, 21 ff. Cf. also Harpocration, s. v. Schol. ad Aristoph. 1 ff.; Eccl. 602: *ἐκλήθησαν δὲ Δαρεικοὶ οὐχ ὡς οἱ πλείους νομίζουσιν, ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου πατρός, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑτέρου .... βασιλέως.* See Hultsch, *op. cit.* i. p. 315, l. 17; p. 348, l. 20.

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Darius Hystaspis, as many have supposed, but after an older monarch of this name, probably the Median Darius of Daniel[17], is also in view of modern researches extremely doubtful[18].

No Room for Darius the Mede.

If there is no room in history for this Median king of the Book of Daniel, and it appears consequently that such a ruler could not have existed, but that Media passed from Astyages, and Babylon from Nabonidus, to Cyrus, how is it possible to account for this interpolation of a Median rule in the Book of Daniel?

The theory is not tenable that Darius the Mede was a Median prince to whom Cyrus had given Babylon as a reward for his services[19], nor can we suppose him to have been a sort of satrap or vice-king[20]. The author of Daniel represents Darius with full kingly powers. Darius divides the empire into one hundred and twenty satrapies (C. vi. 1); he signs a royal decree making it unalterable law (C. vi. 7, 8); he issues a proclamation to all peoples, nations and languages that dwell in the earth (C. vi. 25); and the author dates according to his reign and refers nowhere to any overlord (C. ix. 1).

The question may be divided into two heads: *First,* Why does the author of Daniel believe that the Medes held Babylon before the Persians? *Second,* Why does he call his Median king by the familiar name of Darius?

The Median History.

1. In order to answer the first question it seems necessary to give a very brief outline of the Median history. According to the record of Herodotus, the Median kingdom was founded by Deiokês. If the chronology of the Greek historian

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[17] See Cook's Bible Commentary, vi. p. 314; Andreä, *op. cit.* p. 49; Hengstenberg, Dan. p. 51; Hävernick, Untersuch. p. 78, etc. [18] See Additional Note v. [19] So Vignolles, Œuvres, ii. pp. 510 ff., followed by Lenormant, Manual of the Ancient History of the East, p. 490. [20] So Andreä, *op. cit.* p. 55; Pusey, Dan. p. 160.

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is at all correct, Deiokês must have founded his kingdom, as Tiele has pointed out[21], during the reign of Sennacherib in Assyria (705–681 B. C.).

Phraortes.

This whole question, however, is very uncertain and has little bearing on what follows. The son of Deiokês was Phraortes, who is really the first historical king of Media. According to Herodotus he must have reigned from 646 until 625 B. C. Following the account of Herodotus, not content with ruling over the Medes alone, Phraortes marched against and subjugated the Persians. Then, at the head of the combined forces of Persians and Medes, he set out to conquer Asia, passing from one people to the other. Finally, he attacked the Assyrians, at that time isolated by the defection of their allies, and not only suffered defeat but was killed during the expedition, having ruled twenty-two years. His reign coincides with the last twenty-two years of that of Aŝurbanipal. As Tiele remarks[21], it is certainly striking that this latter king never followed the example of his predecessors in attacking Media. The probable reason was that the power of Phraortes was too great to admit of such an attempt. If we accept the chronology of Herodotus, the year of Phraortes' attack on Nineveh, 625 B. C., coincides with the time of the death of Aŝurbanipal and the defection of Babylon from the Assyrian rule. In spite of her difficult position, however, Assyria seemed still to have possessed sufficient power to cast off the Medes for a time.

Cyaxares.

Phraortes was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, who completed his father's work; and under this monarch the Median power reached the summit of its greatness. According to the account of Herodotus (i. 73, 74), Cyaxares carefully reor-

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[21] Gesch. p. 408; for an historical examination of the foundation of Media, see Delattre, Medes, pp. 129 ff.

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ganizing the Median army; dividing the spearmen, archers, and cavalry into separate troops, marched with his entire force against Nineveh, intending, in vengeance for the defeat and death of his father, completely to destroy the city. His first siege, owing to the Scythian irruption into his kingdom, he was forced to raise, but finally, shaking off the barbarians, he besieged Nineveh anew and at length made an end of the Assyrian power.

The Fall of Nineveh.

According to the account of Berossus, which may be trustworthy, the Babylonian king, whose son Nebuchadnezzar was married to the daughter of the Median chief, helped the Medes in this siege[22]. It should be noticed here that Berossus and the authors dependent on him did not know of Cyaxares, but believed that Nineveh was conquered by Astyages. According to the account of Abydenus, however, the king of Babylon *Busalossor* (Nabopolassar), having married his son Nabukodrossoros to the daughter of the Median chief *Aŝdahak*, proceeded *alone* against Nineveh[23].

About the details of the fall of Nineveh there is no record either in Herodotus or in the cuneiform inscriptions, the last Assyrian kings of whom we have any document being *Aŝur-etil-ilâni-ukinnî* and *Sin-ŝar-iŝkun*[24]. Herodotus, i. 107, merely mentioned the capture of Nineveh by the Medes, giving no detailed account, while in the Assyrian inscriptions there is absolutely no reference to the event. Equally silent are the documents of Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar and first independent king of Babylon, in which, in view of the statement of Berossus, just mentioned, we might expect to find some allusion to the overthrow of Assyria.

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[22] Tiele, Gesch., p. 410. [23] *Aŝdahak* is the Armenian form of Astyages. For this and fuller ancient opinions regarding the part of the Babylonians in the fall of Nineveh, we may compare Delattre, Les Chaldéens jusqu'à la formation de l'Empire de Nabochodonossor and Tiele Gesch., pp. 414; 421. [24] See Bezold, Lit. p. 122.

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Winckler's opinion, based on the silence of Herodotus, regarding the participation of the Babylonians in the siege of Nineveh, was that the Medes captured the Assyrian capital alone. This view has been rightly objected to by Lehmann[25]. An *argumentum ex silentio* is at best poor reasoning. Moreover, Tiele has pointed out that the continuation of the Babylonian power would have been impossible had Nabopolassar remained neutral in the war between Media and Assyria[26].

The statement of Berossus then, regarding the Babylonian and Median alliance against Assyria seems to commend itself to good judgment.

The Chief Facts.

At any rate the chief facts are certainly clear: Nineveh was destroyed, — so thoroughly that Xenophon, when crossing Asia in 401 B. C. with the ten thousand, mistook the ruins of the great city for those of Median towns laid waste by the Persians[27]. It seems generally recognized, and the opinion of almost all antiquity (the untrustworthy records of Abydenus excepted), that the Medes played the chief part in the ruin of Assyria, and it is likely that in this historical fact lies the key to the solution of the problem of Darius the Median.

Confusion of History.

The interpolation by the author of Daniel of a Median rule in Babylon directly after the fall of the Babylonian house may possibly depend on a confusion between the story of the fall of Nineveh and the account of the overthrow of Babylon. Nineveh fell at the hands of the Medes. Some authors might differ as to the name of the Median prince who destroyed it, but it seems to have been generally recognized by the ancients that the Medes captured and overthrew the city. Babylon on the other hand was conquered by Cyrus

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[25] *Šamaššumukîn,* ii. pp. 185. [26] ZA. vii. p. 19. [27] See Anabasis, iii. 4; iv. 12; also Zeph. ii. 13–15.

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the Persian, who had but a few years previously subdued these same Medes to his standard.

It should be noted, moreover, that even in exilic times, when the Persians must have been well known, the terms Mede and Persian were used almost synonymously. Thus, in Is. xiii. 17; Jer. li. 11; 28. the conquest of Babylon by the Medes is prophesied. It is not surprising, therefore, that an author writing at a much later period and having no historical, but rather a moral object in view should confuse, on the one hand, the accounts of the fall of the two great cities of the ancient world and be uncertain, on the other hand, regarding the name of the conquering people. The author of Daniel, probably influenced both by the story of the fall of Nineveh and by this confusion of the names Mede and Persian, makes a Median ruler receive Babylon after the overthrow of the native dynasty, and then mentions later the historical Cyrus. We may suppose that the Biblical writer believed that Cyrus succeeded to the empire of Babylon on the death of the Median Darius.

2. The second question, however, still remains unanswered. Why did the author of the Book of Daniel give to his fictitious Median king the familiar name of Darius?

As early as the eleventh century of our era the view was advanced by the Benedictine monk, Marianus Scotus[28], that Darius the Mede was Darius Hystaspis, and, on examining certain points in the account of Daniel, it will appear that this idea will lead us to the correct solution of the difficulty. In chapter ix. 1, Darius the Mede is said to be the son of Xerxes (Ahasuerus), and it is stated that he established one hundred and twenty satrapies; Darius Hystaspis was the father of Xerxes and according to Herodotus, iii. 89, established *twenty* satrapies. Darius the Mede entered into pos-

[28] Bertholdt, Dan. p. 844.

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session of Babylon after the death of Belshazzar; Darius Hystaspis conquered Babylon from the hands of the rebels [29]. It seems clear from this comparison, and in view of the impossibility of reconciling with history the existence of a Median ruler of Babylon, that the name Darius in Daniel is due to a confusion with that of the son of Hystaspis [30].

Just as Xenophon made Cyaxares the son of Astyages, so the writer of Daniel must have made his Darius the son of Xerxes, the Hebrew form of whose name he probably borrowed from Esther or Ezra, and, in addition to this, transferred in a distorted form certain facts of the reign of Darius Hystaspis to the reign of Darius the Mede. The idea as stated by Friedrich Delitzsch [31], that the original of Darius the Median may have been Cyrus' general *Gubaru* (Gobryas), who captured Babylon, seems very unsatisfactory.

The origin of Darius the Mede.

Darius the Mede appears therefore to have been the product of a mixture of traditions; on the one hand, the story of the capture and destruction of Nineveh by the Medes, sixty-eight years before the fall of Babylon, may have contributed to the historical confusion of the author's mind and influenced him to insert a Median rule in Babylon before the Persians; while, on the other hand, the fame of the great Darius Hystaspis and of his capture of Babylon from the rebels may have led to the choice of the name "Darius" for the Median interloper, and induced the Biblical writer to ascribe in a vague way certain events of the life of the former to the reign of the latter [32].

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[29] So Herodotus, iii. 153—160. [30] Compare Beers, Richtige Vereinigung der Regierungsjahre, p. 22; Bertholdt, Dan. p. iv; v. Lengerke, Dan. p. 230; and lately, Kamphausen *op. cit.* p. 29. [31] Calwer Bibellexicon, pp. 137; 138. [32] A similar confusion of persons is seen in the wellknown Greek legend concerning the fiery death of Sardanapalus *(Aśurbânipal)*. Haupt, in his corrections and additions to the ASKT. in the ZK. ii. p. 282, rem. 4, advanced the theory that this account

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It seems apparent that the interpolation of Darius the Mede must be regarded as the most glaring inaccuracy of the Book of Daniel. In fact, this error of the author alone is proof positive that he must have lived at a very late period, when the record of most of the earlier historical events had become hopelessly confused and perverted.

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arose from a confusion in later tradition between Sardanapalus and his half-brother *Šamaššumukîn*, who, having rebelled in Babylon against his brother, perished in the flames when the city was captured by the victorious Assyrian king. This explanation, however, is not adopted by Lehmann, *op. cit.* p. 2, who is inclined to believe that the legend may have had an historical basis in the fact that Nineveh was destroyed by fire at the time of its capture by the Medes.

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PART SECOND.

CRITICAL COMMENTARY.

CHAPTER FIRST.

This section which is the introduction to the Book serves both to explain the presence of Daniel and his friends at the court of Nebuchadnezzar and also to show how a strict adherence to the Jewish religion must always be rewarded by Jhvh.

The chapter falls naturally into four paragraphs; viz., The taking of Jerusalem, 1–2; the royal command concerning the children, 3–7; Daniel's resolution not to defile himself with the king's food, 8–16; the skill of the four Hebrew youths in astrology and divination, 17–21.

1. a) The erroneous statement made here that Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim has been discussed above p. 18; see p. 64.

1. b) **Jehoiakim** (Jhvh raises) reigned 607–597 B. C. His former name was Eliakim which had been changed to Jehoiakim by Pharaoh Necho the successor of Amon in Egypt (2 Chron. xxxvi. 4, and see p. 61.).

2. a) **And he carried them.** The suffix "them" seems to include both Jehoiakim and the vessels, in spite of the fact that the ancient translators (LXX., Θ and V.) made it refer to the vessels only. The author wishes to state as concisely as possible that Nebuchadnezzar brought Jehoiakim and, as we

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see from the following verse, a number of other captives, together with the sacred vessels, to Babylonia "into the house of his god". The writer probably supposed that all the spoils of victory, treasures and captives alike, were presented in triumph at the heathen altar. He then states more explicitly that *the vessels* were put into the treasury, no doubt intending by this assertion to bring momentarily into prominence a special theme of the Book which is not developed until C. v., e. g. the profanation of the holy utensils of Jhvh's Temple. Having thus somewhat awkwardly cleared the way for the narrative having a direct bearing upon the captives, he proceeds to tell his story of Daniel and his friends.

It does not seem necessary with Kautzsch-Marti and Behrmann[1] to consider that the text of this verse contains glosses, nor with Ewald, to suppose that some words have been omitted by a careless copyist. Still less does the theory of Hitzig commend itself, that the word "house" in the expression "house of his gods" means "land", but in "treasure house" returns to the proper signification "house".

2. b) **Shinar** is the Hebrew equivalent of the Bab. *mât Šumêri,* VR. 29, 46e, which is the gentilic name for the non-Semitic provinces of southern Babylonia[2]. The *Sangara* of the Pharaoh Thotmes III. is very likely the Egyptian form of the same name[3]. It is now generally supposed that Babylonian-Assyrian *m* had a nasal sound, especially between vowels and at the end of a syllable[4], so that the word *Šumêr* was probably pronounced *Šuñger* (*ñg* as in "singing") which the Hebrews endeavoured to reproduce by the combination נע and the Egyptians by *ñg*. The word Shinar, which occurs only seven times in the O. T., must be regarded in this passage of Daniel as an attempt of the author to give an archaic colour to his narrative.

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[1] See Kamphausen, p. 14. [2] Lehmann, *Šamaššumukîn,* p. 89. [3] Tiele, Gesch. pp. 139; 145. [4] BA. i. p. 202; Del. Assyr. Gr. § 49[a], rem.

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The common expression for Babylonia in exilic Hebrew is "land of Babylon" or "land of the Chaldæans"; Jer. li. 29; Ez. xii. 13.

3. a) Chief of his Eunuchs; undoubtedly the same person as the "Prince of the Eunuchs" of *vv.* 7; 11.

There were and still are in the East two varieties of *castrati,* the one with all the sexual organs removed, and the other from whom merely the *testes* have been amputated (cf. Dt. xxiii. 2).

3. b) Of the children of Israel. As has already been indicated above p. 25, three distinct classes of youths are mentioned here: 1. Those of the Jewish Captivity; 2. Those who were of royal Babylonian origin; and 3. Those who were children of Babylonian nobles. The old idea that the writer meant to indicate that all of the youths chosen were of Israelitish origin is probably not correct, as it is expressly stated in *v.* 6 that Daniel and his friends were *Judæans.*

4. The learning and tongue of the Chaldees. The writer evidently meant by this expression the language in which the celebrated works on astrology and divination were composed. It is now known that the idiom of the Babylonian wise men was the non-Semitic Sumerian, but it is impossible to decide whether the author of Daniel was aware of this fact.

The word "Chaldæans" is used in Daniel in two senses. It is applied sometimes, as in Jer. xxiv. 5; Ez. xxiii. 15, as a race name to the Babylonians themselves, for ex. iii. 8; v. 30; ix. 1, but the expression is much oftener used to denote either a special class of magicians, or, as in this passage (i. 4), as a general term for all magicians.

It is a common error to consider the name "Chaldæan" as synonymous with "Babylonian" or even "Old Babylonian". The Chaldæans were clearly in ancient times a people quite distinct from the inhabitants of Babylonia. Their exact origin is extremely uncertain. It may be conjectured with Winckler[5],

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[5] UAG. p. 48.

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that, judging from the Semetic character of their proper names, they were a Semitic people; or with Jensen[6], that they were "Semitised Sumerians", i. e. a non-Semitic race which by contact with Semitic influences had lost its original character. It seems probable that they came first from the South at a very early date along the coast of the Persian Gulf[7]. Having settled in the region about Ur (Ur of the Chaldees), they began a series of encroachments on the Babylonians proper, which after many centuries ended in the Chaldæan supremacy under Nabopolassar and his successors.

The peculiar use of the name "Chaldæan" in Daniel, as a synonym for magicians, is not only entirely foreign to the usage of the Old Testament, but is peculiar to the Greek and Roman writers. The term *Χαλδαῖοι* is used, for example, by Herodotus to denote the priestly class of Babylonia, from whom it is supposed that he got his historical information. This transfer of the name of the people to a special class is probably to be explained in the following manner.

The sudden rise of the Babylonian Empire under the Chaldæan rule of Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar, tended to produce so thorough an amalgamation of the Chaldæans and Babylonians who had hitherto been racially distinct, that, in the course of time, no perceptible differences existed between the two peoples. The name "Chaldæan", however, lived on in the restricted sense already mentioned and for the following reasons. The Kaldi had seized and held from most ancient times the region of old Sumer, the centre of the non-Semitic culture[6]. It seems extremely probable that they were so strongly influenced by this superior civilization as to eventually adopt it as their own, and, as they were the dominant race, the priestly caste of that region became a Chaldæan in-

[6] Lehmann, *op. cit.* p. 173. [7] For the old opinion of Gesenius, Heeren, Niebuhr, etc. that the *Kaldi* came from Armenia and Kurdistan and conquered Babylon shortly before the time of Nebuchadnezzar, cf. Tiele, Gesch. p. 65.

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stitution. It is reasonable to conjecture that Southern Babylonia, the home of the old culture, supplied Babylon and other important cities with priests, who from their descent were correctly called Chaldæans; a name which in later times, owing to the amalgamation of the Chaldæans and Babylonians when the term had lost its national force, became a distinctive appellation of the priestly caste.

6. Daniel. This name appears in the O. T. of four different persons: 1. Of the Patriarch of Ezekiel (see above, p. 26 ff.); 2. Of one of the sons of David, 1 Chron. iii. 1; 3. Of a certain Levite who was a contemporary of Ezra (see p. 28 n. 17); 4. Of the Daniel of our Book.

7. Unto whom the prince of the Eunuchs gave names. It does not seem to have been uncommon for kings to change the names of their vassals. Compare 2 Kings, xxiv. 17, where the name of Mattaniah, the uncle of Jeconiah, is changed by Nebuchadnezzar to Zedekiah, and 2 Kings xxiii. 34, where Necho, king of Egypt, changed the name of Eliakim, brother of Jehoahaz, to Jehoiakim. Jehoiakin, son of Jehoiakim. was also called Jeconiah (1 Chron. iii. 16) and Coniah (Jer. xxii. 24).

In Assyrian we may compare the case of Tiglath-pileser III. (745–727 B. C.), who reigned in Nineveh as Tiglath-pileser *(Tukultipalešarra)*, and in Babylon under the name *Pulu;* i. e. the biblical Pul. Shalmaneser the fourth (727–722 B. C.) was called in Babylon *Ulula'a* (Ilulaios), but in Assyrian Shalmaneser *(Šulmânu-ašarid)*.

8. Daniel's refusal to eat the king's food is a distinctly Maccabæan touch. We have only to refer to 1 Macc. i. 62–3 to see how such a defilement was regarded by the pious Jews of that period. The persecuting Syrian king was particularly importunate against the ritualistic requirements of the Jewish Law and especially against the regulation forbidding the Jews to touch strange food (see *l. c.* i. 60). The author of Daniel, therefore, in emphasizing this act of piety

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on the part of his hero, is plainly touching on a point of vital importance to his readers.

The Prophet's refusal to eat the heathen dainties was not only a pious deed in itself, but as an act of voluntary fasting was also a recognized means of preparation for the divine revelation, as in Ex. xxxiv. 28; Dt. ix. 9; 18.

9. **Now God had brought Daniel into favour etc.** This verse is necessary to explain why the Chief Eunuch was not enraged at Daniel's objection, and also to bring out more forcibly the gentle traits of the hero's character.

17. a) **In all learning and wisdom.** That is; in all the magical and astrological literature. The word "book" translated in the A. V. by "learning" simply means "that which is written down" and could therefore be appropriately used of the cylinders and tablets of the Babylonians. It is not likely, however, that the author of Daniel knew the exact character of the cuneiform documents.

17. b) **In all sorts of visions and dreams.** This phrase was undoubtedly introduced purposely as a connecting link with C. ii.

20. a) **Magicians.** This word appears to mean "penmen" or "scribes". The correct translation is probably "hierogrammatists", e. g. "those who write sacred things". It is used only in the plural in the O. T. In Gn. xli. 8; 24, etc., it is the term applied to the Egyptian priestly scribes.

In Assyria and Babylonia, the scribes *(ṭupsarre)* were a special class of the priesthood, from whom all the literature of the times proceeded.

20. b) **Astrologers.** This is a Babylonian loanword found only in Daniel. The exact meaning of the stem from which it is derived is not clear, but it may have originally conveyed the idea of whispering or muttering, in allusion to the peculiar tome in which the incantations were uttered. The correct translation is probably "conjurers" and not "astrologers" as in the A. V.

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It is probable that the author of Daniel had no very clear idea regarding the exact meaning of the terms which he uses to denote the various kinds of magicians at Babylon. He very likely knew through the vague traditions which were current in his time that there had been in Babylon different branches of the magical arts, each of which was represented by a special body of men, but it is difficult to say with certainty that the writer actually meant to apply each term to a distinct class.

The Chaldæan priestly caste was in all probability an hereditary order, as Diodorus Siculus stated (ii. 29). According to the same authority, the priests were divided into three classes; first, those who celebrated sacrifices and performed purification; secondly, those who recited incantations to keep off evil spirits, and finally; those who explained portents and dreams. This division is not contradicted by the inscriptions, although it cannot be known just what Assyrian names correspond to each of these classes [8].

21. Unto the first year of Cyrus. There seems to be a contradiction here with x. 1, where it is stated that Daniel saw a vision in the third year of Cyrus. The explanation that the author merely meant to imply that Daniel lived to see the return of the exiles in the first year of Cyrus is unsatisfactory, because, as Bevan very properly points out (Dan. p. 63), the Return is only alluded to very indirectly in the Book in ix. 25. On the other hand it is certainly strange that the writer should have permitted such an apparent contradiction to stand. On this account, it seems quite possible that this verse is a later gloss [9], inserted by some one who, without a careful examination of the Book, wished to call the reader's attention to the fact that Daniel actually lived *through* the time of the persecuting Nebuchadnezzar until the advent of the redeeming Cyrus.

[8] For this whole subject, cf. Lenormant, La Divination entre les Chaldéens. [9] So Behrmann.

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CHAPTER SECOND.

Having explained the presence of Daniel and his friends at the Babylonian court, the author proceeds at once in C. ii to narrate a special episode in the life of his hero, illustrative of the mysterious powers of interpretation with which the Seer was gifted and which had been alluded to in a preliminary way in C. i. 17[1].

Mention has already been made of the striking similarity between this narrative and the story of Joseph in Gn. xl.–xli., a resemblance which has led many critics to believe that the writer of Daniel simply imitated the Pentateuchal account, adapting it to his own special purpose[2]. The theme of Dan. ii is practically identical with that of C. vii which is really an amplification of the vision regarding the four empires, only couched in somewhat more apocalyptic language than C. ii[3].

There are seven paragraphs in C. ii which should be observed; viz., The king's dream, 1–4; the king's threat to the Chaldæans, 5–13; the summons to Daniel, 14–18; the revelation of the vision to Daniel, 19–23; the exposition of the dream, 24–35; the interpretation of the dream, 36–45; and finally, as a climax, Nebuchadnezzar's acknowledgment of the power of Daniel's God, 46–49.

1. And in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, etc. This statement regarding the date of Daniel's interpretation which is in direct contradiction with i. 5; 18 has excited much controversy among expositors[4]. All attempts on the part of the defenders of the authenticity of the Book to reconcile this assertion with C. i are highly unsatisfactory. Thus, the second year cannot possibly mean the second year after the destruction of the Temple at Jeru-

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[1] See p. 62. [2] See p. 29. [3] See p. 9. [4] See p. 18.

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salem[5], because the reign-years of a Babylonian king could never have been dated from such an event, even by an inaccurate foreign tradition. It is equally unsafe to assume that Nebuchadnezzar began his reign as a co-regent with his father Nabopolassar[6] and that this is the second year after Nabopolassar's death, because it is nowhere stated in the extant inscriptions of Nabopolassar that Nebuchadnezzar was co-regent. The only allusion to the great king in these documents is the statement that the king Nabopolassar caused his sons Nebuchadnezzar the elder, and the younger brother *Nabušulišir* to take part in a religious ceremony at the founding of a temple[7].

This statement in Dan. ii. 1 is so evidently a contradiction to i. 5; 18 that we have no right to suppose in this case, any more than in i. 21[8], that the writer of the Book could have allowed such an error to stand. We are thus practically driven to accept the theory of Ewald who alters the text by the addition of a single word[9] so as to translate "in the *twelfth* year of Nebuchadnezzar".

4. a) **In Syriac.** This should be translated "in Aramaic", which was the colloquial language of the Jews at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. It is highly probable that this word is a later addition to the passage, introduced by some student of the text, in order to mark the beginning of the Aramaic sections. Its ultimate incorporation as an integral part of the text has led some commentators to the erroneous conclusion mentioned above[10], that the author of Daniel believed Aramaic to have been the language of Babylonia. The verse probably read originally as follows: "Then spake the Chaldæans to the king, *and said:*". This last expression "and said" was afterwards superseded by the gloss translated in the A. V. "in Syriac"[11].

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[5] So Rashi. [6] So Hengstenberg and Zöckler. [7] Nabop. C. ii ll. 68 ff. [8] See p. 63. [9] עשרה. [10] See p. 11. [11] Haupt in Kamphausen, p. 16.

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4. b) **O King Live For Ever,** was a common form of address to royalty in the East; cf. iii. 9; v. 10; vi. 7; 22; Neh. ii. 3; 1 K. i. 31[12]. This greeting was common also in Babylonian times cf. BA. i. p. 239: — "May Nebo and Merodach give long days and everlasting years unto the king of the lands, my lord".

8. a) **That ye would gain the time, because ye see the thing has gone from me.** It is probable that this whole passage should be translated as follows: — "And the king spake and said: I know of a certainty that ye would gain time, although ye see that the thing is fixed (determined) by me; for ye have prepared lying and corrupt words to speak before me until the time be changed" (*v.* 9). This last phrase has no logical connection in *v.* 9 and should therefore be transferred to *v.* 8, as just shown.

8. b) "To gain time" means at the king's expense. We find a similar idea in the Latin idiom *tempus emere*[13], but the expression in the N. T.[14] "redeeming the time", cited in this connection by Hävernick and Hitzig, conveys quite a different idea, e. g. that of using the time at its full value.

8. c) **The thing is gone from me.** This translation is incorrect in view of the fact that the word regarded as meaning "gone (from me)" is probably a Persian loanword, signifying "certain". Translate as indicated above: "The thing is fixed (or, "determined") by me"[15].

9. There is but one decree for you, e. g. "one sentence which ye shall suffer". The word is the same as that used in *v.* 13; "and *the decree* (the sentence) went forth that the wise men should be slain".

The whole verse should read: — "But if ye will not make known unto me the dream there is one sentence for you" (e. g. the one already set forth in *v.* 5); "therefore, tell me

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[12] BA. i. p. 242; Kaulen, Assyr. u. Bab. p. 262. [13] Cicero Verrus, i. 3.
[14] Eph. v. 16; Col. iv. 5. [15] See philological note.

the dream and I shall know that ye can set forth its interpretation"; thus omitting the middle section which was transferred to *v.* 8.

10. **King, Lord or Ruler.** This should be translated "great and mighty king". It is undoubtedly a reminiscence of the old Assyro-Babylonian title so common in the inscriptions "Great king, mighty king, king of Assyria", (or of Babylon)[16].

11. **Except the gods whose dwelling is not with flesh.** This simply means that the astrologers and magicians confessed the limitations of their art. There were some things which even they could not accomplish.

12. **Very furious.** This is most probably an imitation of the story of Joseph, as it is the same stem used in Gn. xl. 2; xli. 10, to denote the wrath of Pharaoh.

13. **And the decree went forth that the wise men should be slain.** Such a sentence, implying the destruction of *all* the wise men, indicates that the author regarded them as a special class or order, of which he goes on to state that Daniel and his friends were members.

14. a) **With counsel and wisdom;** more correctly "with common sense and good judgment". It simply means that Daniel gave a judicious and diplomatic reply.

14. b) **Arioch** occurs Gn. xiv. 1 as the name of the king of Ellasar, the ancient Babylonian Larsa. It is highly likely that the author of Daniel appropriated the name from this passage.

15. **Why is the decree so hasty from the king?** This is an incorrect translation. The LXX. render rightly "why is the decree *so cruel* on the part of the king?"[17] This is the proper meaning of the Aramaic word of the original, which never expresses the idea of haste.

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[16] Cf. 2 Kings xviii. 28. [17] So also V. Θ less correctly 'shameless, reckless'.

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18. The God of Heaven. This expression, which occurs in the later J document (J_2 *ca.* 850–700 B. C.), e. g. in Gn. xxiv. 7, is a favourite one with the Hebrew writers of the exilic period; cf. Dan. ii. 44; Ezra i. 2; Jon. i. 9; and Revel. xi. 13. It may be a reminiscence of the common Babylonian expression "the great gods of the heavens and the earth". In iv. 26, the word "heavens" alone is used as a synonym for Jhvh; see note on this passage.

24. He went and said thus unto him. Neither the LXX. nor V. translate this second "he went". As the word does not seem necessary to the context, it is probably to be canceled as a gloss [18].

27. Soothsayers, also iv. 7 (4). This word is a derivative from a stem meaning "to cut, to decide". The exact translation seems to be "horoscopists", e. g. drawers of horoscopes [19] or celestial charts, showing the position of the constellations at the hour of one's birth.

28. The visions of thy head. "Of thy head", because the head is the seat of vision; cf. iv. 2; 7; 10; vii. 1; 15. *Thoughts* on the other hand are said to come from the heart; cf. ii. 30.

29. As for thee, O king, thy thoughts came into thy mind upon thy bed. Better, "thy thoughts *came up* to thee". The king is represented as lying awake, probably in meditation regarding the future. The explanatory vision was sent to him by God. The author evidently intends to mark the contrast between the waking thoughts and the subsequent dream.

30. a) **But for their sakes that shall make known the interpretation,** should be translated "but in order that the interpretation should be made known".

30. b) **The thoughts of thy heart,** e. g. the speculations regarding the future alluded to in *v.* 29.

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[18] Against the idea of Behrmann, p. 12. [19] AJP. xiii. p. 280.

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32. This image's head was of fine gold. It is interesting to observe that in this chapter and in v. 4 the author places gold before silver, as if it were more valuable, but in v. 23 he mentions silver first. It is impossible to make any deduction from this circumstance regarding the relative value of the metals in the time of the author. In Assyrian, gold is sometimes mentioned before silver and sometimes after it, to all appearances in a purely arbitrary manner. In v. 23 V. mentions silver first, Θ gold, and the LXX. avoid classifying the metals[20].

34–35. The stone cut out without hands, e. g. without any human intervention[21], is undoubtedly the symbol of the coming Messianic rule which is to destroy all the preceding kingdoms of the wicked. It is made to fall first upon the *feet* of the visionary image, leaving the rest intact, in order to show that the might of the Messianic king is to develope by degrees, and that the destruction of the heathen is consequently to be a gradual one. The heathen empires typified by the different parts of the image represent four successive phases in the progressive developement of the unrighteous which are to be checked and crushed into nothingness by the constantly increasing Messianic power.

35. a) **The iron, the clay.** In Θ more properly the clay comes first. In *vv.* 33–34, the iron must, of course, precede the clay in the descending scale of valuation, but in *vv.* 35–36, where the reverse order is followed, and the least important material should be destroyed first, the clay should undoubtedly precede all the others. It is difficult to decide whether Θ is translating freely according to the sense, or really following a more accurate text. If the text as it now stands is correct, the error may simply have been one of carelessness on the part of the author of Daniel[22].

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[20] Kamphausen, p. 19. [21] Cf. Dan. viii. 25; Job xxxiv. 20; Lam. iv. 6. [22] See on this passage, Kamphausen, p. 19.

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35. b) **And the stone that smote the image became a great mountain and filled the whole earth.** This is the symbol of the Messianic kingdom which is to extend over the whole earth and of which Mount Zion is the physical prototype[23].

36. We will tell. It should be noticed that Daniel is made to include his friends here, in order that he may save them, as well as himself, from the king's wrath. They are necessary to the author of the Book for the narrative in C. iii.

37–38. It is highly probable that the author borrowed the ideas herein expressed from Jer. xxvii. 5–6; xxviii. 14. A description of the power of Nebuchadnezzar has been given above, p. 31.

37. Thou, o king, (art a) king of kings. This is not the customary Babylonian form of address. Nebuchadnezzar is called, for example, in the great East India House Inscription[24] dating from his reign, simply "Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, the exalted prince, the beloved of Marduk[25]", etc. The usual Assyrian form was much more ornate: "The great king, the mighty king, the king of hosts, the king of Assyria". This collection of titles is assumed by Antiochus Soter (280–260 B. C.) with the alteration and addition: "king of Babylon, king of the lands"[26]. The expression "king of kings", found in Daniel is a characteristic Persian title; cf. "I am Darius the great king, the king of kings", etc.[27]

38. The fowls of the heaven. LXX. and Θ add here "and the fish of the sea", as if it were necessary to enumerate all kinds of life. It is probable that this was a purely arbitrary gloss based on a misunderstanding of the passage.

39. a) **And after thee shall arise another kingdom, inferior to thee.** This is plainly the Median empire[28] which

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[23] Cf. Ψ xlviii. 1; Ψ lxxxvii; Mi. iv. 1; Ezek. xvii. 22–4. [24] EIH. i. 1 ff. [25] The Biblical Merodach, the tutelary deity of Babylon. [26] KB. iii. pt. 2, p. 136. [27] Bezold, Acham. Inschr. pp. 32–3. [28] See p. 50–1 and below on v. 28.

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is represented by the mythical Median Darius in whose reign the episode of the lions' den was supposed to have taken place (C. vi.). The author probably knew nothing of the Medes save their name and therefore passed this empire over, both here and in C. vii., with a mere mention.

39. b) **And another third kingdom of brass which shall bear rule over all the earth.** This is undoubtedly the Persian empire of Cyrus, of which the writer naturally knew more than he did of the Medes. His object in the present chapter is to lay stress on the first and fourth kingdoms; first, on the empire under which he supposed Daniel to have flourished and secondly, on the rule of the Greco-Syrian sovereigns under which he himself lived.

40–44. And the fourth kingdom shall be as strong as iron, forasmuchas iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth (lit. crusheth) all things. There is no reason for regarding the words "and as iron that breaketh"; viz. "all these" (40) as a gloss[29]. The expression "all these" is indefinite, but seems to refer to the three metals, gold, silver and brass just mentioned as the component parts of the image.

This fourth kingdom is the power founded by Alexander which is worse than any that preceded and is to be strong and hard to break; yet its strength is not irresistible, for it shall be divided against itself (41): "And it shall be partly strong and partly broken"; (42) strong as regards the iron, the Seleucides, and broken as regards the clay, the Ptolemies, whose power began to wane about 221–204 B. C. under Philopator. These monarchs, the Ptolemies and the Seleucides, "shall mingle themselves with the seeds of men"[30], e. g. they shall make marriages among themselves (43), but they shall not prevail by these alliances. The temporal Messianic kingdom, for which all the pious Jews of the Maccabæan period so devoutly hoped, shall supersede this Gentile period "in the

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[29] See Kamphausen, p. 20. [30] Cf. Jer. xxxi. 27.

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days of those kings" (44), e.g. when the empire is divided, and shall last for ever, absorbing all other nations.

45. For as much as thou sawest, etc. Daniel simply reiterates here his statement of the dream, laying special stress on the fact that the stone was cut out of the mountain without human intervention, in order to impress more vividly upon the monarch that the whole course of future events is to be regulated by divine power. There is to be no human force in the overthrow of the heathen. This sentence goes with what precedes in *v.* 44. Verse 45 should consist solely of the concluding words: "The great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass here-after; and the dream is certain and the interpretation thereof sure".

46. Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face and worshipped Daniel. This act of the king's is explained in the next verse. The adoration was not offered to Daniel personally, but *through him* to the God Whom he represented and Whose power had just been manifested so marvellously. The author's object is clearly to depict the humiliation of the heathen before triumphant Israel. Several expositors have called attention to the resemblance between this account and the fable regarding Alexander narrated by Josephus[31] who states that when that monarch entered Jerusalem, he prostrated himself before the Jewish High-Priest, explaining to his companion Parmenion that this homage was intended for the divine power represented by the Priest.

48–49. Then the king made Daniel a great man . . . . and made him ruler over the whole province of Babylonia and chief of the governours over all the wise men of Babylon. This verse, which serves as a connecting link with iv. and v., is plainly an imitation of Gn. xli. 40–43, the account of the promotion of Joseph in Egypt to be second to the King. Daniel does not refuse the honour offered him,

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[31] Ant. xi. 8; 5.

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but requests that his friends be made partakers of it. The prophet remains near the royal person "in the king's gate"[32], e. g. at the court. It is of course not historically probable that a Jewish prophet could have occupied such a position; first, because it is difficult to see how a strict Jew could conscientiously hold this post, and secondly, because the magicians, probably being an hereditary order, would have resented an outsider being set over them.

The allusion to Daniel's three companions undoubtedly points forward to the narrative of C. iii.

CHAPTER THIRD.

This section of the Book is devoted exclusively to the narrative of the episode of the Fiery Furnace, in which Daniel's three companions are made to play the chief part. The author's aim in this chapter was undoubtedly to demonstrate first, that death should be preferred by the pious Israelite to any form of idolatry, a distinctly Maccabæan touch, and secondly, that the mercies of Jhvh are not only shown in a marvellous way through the miraculous gifts of Daniel himself, but also by means of his three friends who, like their leader and hero, remained faithful to the ordinances of the Jewish religion. The special aim of this chapter, therefore, which is quite in keeping with the general tone of the Book, is practically identical with that of C. vi., where Daniel himself appears as the willing martyr who is rescued by the direct interposition of the Divine Power.

It is highly striking, however, that the companions of Daniel are not mentioned again after C. iii. In fact, a careful examination of the work seems to indicate that they were only mentioned in i. and ii., in order to prepare the reader for this

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[32] Esther ii. 19; iii. 2.

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one great episode. Bevan remarks, in connection with the narrative of C. iii.:– "..... if Daniel had intervened to save his friends, there would have been no opportunity for the display of the divine power, preserving them unhurt amidst the flames of the furnace"[1]. This does not necessarily follow, for, if the author had seen fit to connect Daniel with this episode, neither the moral nor the general form of the account would have suffered in the least, as he could easily have made Jhvh perform a miracle through Daniel, in order to terrify the king and thus save his friends. In fact, the prominence of the prophet throughout the entire work — he is the central figure of every narrative save this — naturally leads the reader to expect some *dénouement* of this character. That Daniel is quite ignored, however, would seem to indicate that C. iii. is a distinct interruption of the series of narratives about the prophet's influence on Nebuchadnezzar and that it is probably to be regarded, therefore, as an intentional interpolation introduced by the author himself, in order to give a parallel account of the same king's experiences with three other pious Israelites who are represented as the companions of Daniel in his captivity. In other words, Daniel was not the only person through whom Jhvh could influence Nebuchadnezzar. There is probably no historical basis for the account as a whole, but it is quite possible that the narrative embodies some special traditional elements, distinct from those relating to Daniel, which the author may have incorporated into his work as a valuable addition to and variation of his more extended account of the Babylonian Seer.

It is, of course, extremely difficult to determine just how much of the subject matter of C. iii. depends on tradition and how much was invented by the author himself. It is possible, for example, that he got his idea of Nebuchadnezzar's haughty speech in *v.* 15 from the words attributed to the represent-

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[1] Dan. p. 79.

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ative of Sennacherib in Is. xxxvii. 10ff[2], but on the other hand, the words of Nebuchadnezzar in iv. 30 relating to the glory of Babylon, already commented on above (p. 31), show without much doubt that there really was a trustworthy tradition, on which the writer of Daniel based his idea of the power of the greatest of Babylonian monarchs. It is permissible to suppose, therefore, that if the Biblical author knew something of Nebuchadnezzar's grandeur, he would naturally put some such words into the king's mouth as we find in *v.* 15 without any direct influence from the narrative of Sennacherib's attack on Jerusalem. Furthermore, it hardly seems necessary to assume that the author of Daniel borrowed his idea regarding the punishment of burning alive among the Babylonians exclusively from Jer. xxix. 22, nor that the purely metaphorical passage Is. xliii. 2 contributed towards the formation of this whole account. While each of these passages may have had, and probably did have, an influence on the production of Dan. iii., it is hardly safe to imply that they were the *only* elements at the author's disposal. It is more likely that he chose this method of punishment, because it was one of the worst forms of torture inflicted on the pious Israelites during the Greco-Syrian persecution, and the moral of the story was thereby greatly enhanced[3].

The third chapter should be divided into five paragraphs as follows: — The proclamation regarding the image, 1–7; the accusation of Shadrach, Meshech and Abednego by the jealous Babylonian wizards, 8–12; the refusal of the three Jews to worship te image, 13–18; the miracle, 19–25; the conversion of Nebuchadnezzar, 26–30.

1. a) **Nebuchadnezzar the king made an image of gold.** Both Θ and LXX. give the date of the erection of the image; viz., "in the eighteenth year". This is lacking, however, in all the other versions.

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[2] Behrmann, Dan. p. 21. [3] See below on *v.* 6.

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It was a common custom among the Assyrians and Babylonians to erect images both for religious and political purposes, in the construction of which gold was frequently used. Of this we find plenty of evidence in the inscriptions. Thus *Ašurnaçirpal* (885–860 B. C.)[4] says: "I erected an image of Ninib which was not there before .... of choice mountain stone and of pure gold". *Ašurbanipal* (668–625 B. C.) states that he carried away thirty two images of Elamitic kings, some of which were of gold[5]. Shalmaneser (860–825, B. C.) also records that he caused his own statue to be erected as an emblem of his royal sway[6].

It is not necessary to regard this passage in Daniel as a direct allusion to the erection by Antiochus Epiphanes of a great image of Apollo at Antiochia[7]. The custom of constructing immense idols was too common among heathen monarchs to admit of the supposition that the author had any special case in mind.

1. b) **Whose height was three score cubits and the breadth thereof six cubits.** The use here of the sexagesimal system of enumeration is very probably a sign of a tradition dating from the time of the Babylonian captivity[8], as it cannot be shown that the Hebrews reckoned by sixties before this event in their history; cf. Gn. xxv. 26; P. Dt. iii. 4, D, etc.

1. c) **In the plain of Dura.** The LXX. do not regard this as a proper name, but translate it "circumference". It was probably intended, however, for a place-name and may be genuine Babylonian. Fried. Delitzsch suggests that this plain of Dura in the province of Babylon may have been some well known locality close to the city[9]. He points out that, according to IV. R. 39, 9–11 b, there were three places called *Duru* in Babylonia[10].

2. a) **The princes, the governours, etc.** It is extremely difficult to distinguish between the classes of officials mentioned

[4] Ašurn. ii. 133. [5] Ašurb. vi. 48 ff. [6] Ob. 31. [7] Nestle, Marg. p. 35. [8] Also Behrmann, Dan. p. 18. [9] Paradies, p. 216. [10] Also III. R. 9, 43.

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here, and indeed it is hardly necessary to do so, as these expressions seem to be grouped together more to give a local colouring to the account than for the sake of exactness. Behrmann[11] cites very appropriately a similar grouping of Persian titles in Æschylus, Pers. v. 11 ff., some of which were actually invented by the Greek author. A discussion of each name is given in the Philological Commentary.

2. b) **And all the rulers of the provinces.** This is merely a summing up and is not intended to imply that there were other classes of officials not mentioned in the list.

4. **Peoples, Nations and Languages.** The LXX. have here a fourfold group: "Nations and countries, peoples and languages". M. which is followed by Θ and V. is probably correct. The same expression is also found iv. 1; vi. 25.

5. a) **That at what time ye hear the sound of the cornel, flute, harp, sackbut psaltery, dulcimer, etc.** More correctly: "The horn, syrinx, lyre, triangular harp, upright harp, bag-pipe (?)". The precise meaning of the two last words is doubtful here. That they, together with the word for "harp", are Greek loanwords, however, is perfectly clear, but the exact character of the instruments which the terms denoted in Aramaic is not certain. The Greek *κιθάρα* was undoubtedly a lyre-like instrument and there is every reason to believe that the Aramaic author of Daniel had some such instrument in mind in this passage. Whether it was identical in form with the Greek lyre or approached more closely the old Hebrew *kinnôr* cannot of course be known. The Greek "psaltery" was undoubtedly the parent of the later dulcimer, e. g. an instrument on which the strings lay parallel to each other, strung horizontally over a flat dish-shaped sound-body. On the other hand, the Hebrew *nebel* which is commonly translated by "psaltery" was in all probability not a dulcimer, but a pure harp, strung obliquely from a slanting sound-frame: we are

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[11] Dan. p. 19.

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led to believe this by the descriptions of the Church Fathers. Whether, therefore, the author of Daniel had in mind the real Greek psaltery or whether he was merely using the Greek word to denote the Hebrew *nebel* is an open question. As to the term "symphony" Behrmann (p. ix.) wrongly denies that the Greek word *συμφωνία* was ever used for a musical instrument, and asserts that it always meant "concert, harmony". There can be no doubt that this was the usual meaning of the word[12], but in later Greek, *συμφωνία* may have been used to denote a form of bag-pipe[13] which possibly resembled the modern Spanish *zampoña,* the name of which is clearly a derivative from *συμφωνία* (Ital. *sampogna*). It was probably a goat-skin bag with two reeds, the one used as a mouthpiece to fill the bag, and the other employed as a chanter-flute with finger-holes. It is not likely that the *συμφωνία* was a *sistrum*[14]. In Dan. iii. 5, Θ omits the symphony altogether.

It is highly significant in this connection that the psaltery was a favourite instrument of Antiochus Epiphanes[15]. Its mention in Daniel may indeed be due to this fact.

It can hardly be supposed that these three essentially Greek names of musical instruments were current at the court of Nebuchadnezzar. While there was, in all likelihood, some intercourse, even at that time, between the Asiatics and the Ionians in Asia Minor, it does not seem probable that the influence was then strong enough to cause the adoption by the Babylonians of Greek musical instruments and even of their Greek names. In Assyrian literature the first mention of the Ionians occurs in the inscriptions of Sargon (722–705 B. C.)

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[12] The only passage where it seems to be used for a musical instrument is Polyb. 26, 105; cf. also Isid. Etym. 3, 22, Ducange. [13] See philological note. [14] V. translates the doubtful שלישים in 1 Sam. xviii. 6 by *in sistris.* As the word is used here in connection with תפים "hand-drums", this is probably a correct rendering. [15] Cf. Athenæus, x. 52.

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who relates that he conquered the *Yamnâ* who dwelt "in the midst of the sea". Abydenus in Eusebius[16] tells of Sargon's successor Sennacherib that he conquered the fleet of the Greeks on the Cilician coast: "on the sea coast of Cilicia he overthrew and conquered the fighting fleet of Greek vessels in a naval battle". Sennacherib himself relates that he manned his ships "with Tyrian, Sidonian and Ionian sailors". (Senn. Smith, l. 91.). Neither in the later Assyrian nor in the Babylonian inscriptions does any further allusion to the Greeks occur. In fact, not until the time of Darius Hystaspis, two hundred years later do we hear anything more of them. This king speaks frequently of a "*mât* *Yâmanu*", evidently referring, not to Greece proper, but to the Greek territory in Asia Minor[17]. In view of the absolute silence of the Babylonian inscriptions, it may be inferred that the Greek influence, later so powerful, had not yet begun to make itself perceptible in the East.

5. b) **And all kinds of music** is a general expression to denote the other kinds of music not included in the list of instruments.

6. a) **In the same hour** should be rendered "at once, forthwith".

6. b) **A burning fiery furnace.** This is probably a pit in the ground, lined with stones or bricks, covered by a low mound with a vent on top, into which the men were thrown, with a grated gate on one side, through which the king could see the interior of the furnace. Burning alive, which has been in use as a punishment until quite a recent date in Persia, was one of the favourite methods of torture practised on the Jews during the Seleucidan period[18]. That this punishment was in use among the Babylonians also is seen, for example, from the allusion in Jer. xxix. 22 to the roasting of Zedekiah and Ahab by the king of Babylon.

[16] Chron. ed. Schoene, i. 1, 35.

[17] Cf. Delitzsch, Paradies, pp. 248 ff.; Schrader KAT.[2] pp. 81–2.

[18] See above, p. 75 and cf. 2 Macc. vii. 5.

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15. Now if ye be ready that at what time ye hear ..... ye fall down and worship the image which I have made, (well). An elliptical construction like those in Ex. xxxii. 32; Luke xiii. 9. This haughty utterance of Nebuchadnezzar's is quite in keeping with the author's idea of that monarch's power.

16. S. M. and A. answered and said to the king: O Nebuchadnezzar. Better: "to the king Nebuchadnezzar, O king"; altering the punctuation and inserting the word "king" a second time, as is done by the LXX [19].

17. If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace and he will deliver us from thy hand, O king. This translation, which is highly unsatisfactory and obscure, is not in accordance with the Masoretic punctuation which makes the verse mean: "If our God ... be able to deliver us, He will deliver us from thy hand, O king", which is decidedly an improvement. It is still better, however, to translate: "If our God whom we serve *exists,* he *is* able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and from thy hand, O king, He *will* deliver us" [20]. This is a defiant expression of the Hebrews' perfect faith in the power of their God which they make dependent on what is to them a certainty, e. g. His very existence.

18. If not of course implies no doubt in their minds, but simply means "in any case", e. g. even if He does not deliver us, but sees fit to allow us to perish. So V. *quodsi noluerit* "even if He should be unwilling". The similarity of the position of the three Jews to the situation of the pious Israelites under Antiochus Epiphanes is perfectly apparent.

19. One seven times more than it was wont to be heated. More accurately "than it was needful to heat it". The object of this touch was of course to make the impending death of the martyrs seem even more terrible to the reader.

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[19] See Kamphausen, p. 22. [20] Translation suggested by Mr. George Osborn in his lectures on the narrative sections of Daniel.

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21. In their coats, their hosen and their hats. This whole passage is very obscure and the A. V. is clearly incorrect. The following rendering, while making no pretence at absolute accuracy, is certainly better: "their trousers, their tunics and their cloaks". It is quite impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion concerning the meaning of these words. Bevan notes the interesting circumstance that George Fox, the Quaker, deduced from this verse his idea that men should remain covered in the presence of royalty[21].

22. Took up; e. g. to the opening on top of the mound; see above on *v.* 6.

23. After *v.* 23, sixty seven verses are inserted in the LXX. embodying a prayer of the three Jews, 1–21; a narrative paragraph, 22–26; and the song of praise of Daniel's companions after their miraculous rescue, 27–67. *Θ* and P. have adopted these additions outright, while Jerome incorporated them, but recognized them as interpolations[22].

25. Like the Son of God. Literally "like a son of the gods". The plural is never used in Aramaic for Jhvh, as it is in Hebrew. This is a highly characteristic touch on the part of the author. As in iv. 5, he makes the heathen king use an appropriate heathen expression. There is certainly no allusion here to any special Person. "Son of the gods" simply means "an angel" or "divine being".

26. The most high God; cf. Gn. xiv. 18; Mi. vi. 6. This expression is frequently put into the mouths of heathens who are referring to Jhvh; cf. 2 Macc. iii. 3; Mark v. 7; Luke vii. 28.

27. a) **Neither were their coats changed.** Probably "their trousers" (see above on *v.* 21). Especial stress is laid on the condition of this garment, because it was in all probability full and baggy like the modern Turkish and Persian trousers and therefore more liable to be damaged by fire than any other article of their apparel.

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[21] Dan. p. 84. [22] See above p. 2.

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27. b) "Changed" means simply "damaged"[23].

28–30. Then Nebuchadnezzar spake and said. This utterance of the king's recognition of Jhvh's power and the account of the honours heaped upon the three Jews contain the moral of the chapter. Verse 29 is parallel whith vi. 25–8.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

In the A. V. and in all modern versions the division between iii. and iv. is made correctly, but in M. the first three verses of iv. are incorporated as *vv.* 31–33 of iii.

This chapter, like the preceding ones, is an independent section, but was undoubtedly written in direct harmony with the ideas of all the narratives. Here, however, the moral is presented in a slightly different form. The author evidently intended to show his readers that Israel's God had the power to humiliate even the mightiest heathen monarch who was engaged in persecuting the worshippers of Jhvh. In this way, the writer probably hoped to console his co-religionists who were groaning under the tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes, under which they must have felt themselves to be perfectly helpless and forsaken by their God. The external form of the chapter, that of an epistle by Nebuchadnezzar himself, was evidently adopted in order to give more vividness and force to the moral. In internal form, the section strongly resembles C. ii., as the subject is the declaration by the king of a disquieting and mysterious dream and its interpretation by Daniel after the Chaldæans had failed. In this chapter, however, the author goes a step further, as he makes the great king himself narrate the fulfillment and result of the dream.

The chapter should be divided into six paragraphs, as follows: — The prologue, 1–3 (iii. 31–33); the king's unintelli-

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[23] Not necessarily "changed their colour" (Bevan, Dan. p. 86).

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gible dream, 4–9 (1–6); the statement of the dream, 10–18 (7–15); Daniel's interpretation, 19–27 (16–24); fulfillment of the prophecy, 28–33 (25–30); Nebuchadnezzar's recovery and his recognition of the true God, 34–37 (31–34).

1 (iii. 31). **Peace be multiplied unto you**; cf. vi. 25, but in Ezra v. 7 "unto the king, all peace". In Assyr., the expression "to ask for peace" is commonly used of greeting a king, thus: "he did not ask for the peace of my majesty", e. g. he did not greet me becomingly[1]. The phrase "peace be with you" used as a greeting, as in this passage and in Arabic *salâm ʿaleikum,* does not occur in Assyrian[2].

2 (iii. 32). **Signs and wonders**; also vi. 28; cf. Dt. iv. 34. This is a common expression in the N. T.

3 (iii. 33). As in iii. 1 the LXX. add the date here: "in the eighteenth year", which, however, is not followed in this instance by *Θ*[3].

5–8 (2–5). The similarity between these verses and ii. 3 ff. is very striking.

8 (5). a) According to the name of my god, e. g. Bêl. This statement is correct, if, as conjectured below, the original form of the name was "Bêl protect his life"[4].

8 (5). b) **In whom is the spirit of the Holy Gods.** "Holy gods" is a heathen expression appropriately put into the mouth of a heathen king[5]. P. and V. translate this correctly, but *Θ* renders it "God". It is probable, as a number of expositors have suggested, that this expression is borrowed from the passage in the story of Joseph, Gn. xli. 38[6] which should be translated "a man in whom is the spirit of the gods" (not "God", as in the A. V.).

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[1] *Lâ išalum šulum šarrutia,* V. R. 4, 134; also V. R. 8, 62–4, etc.
[2] Schrader, KAT.[2], p. 152, entirely misunderstood the force of *šulum âši libbakunu ṭâbka* which does not mean "may my peace gladden thy heart", but "I am well; may it be well with thee"; cf. AW. p. 665.
[3] See above on iii. 1, p. 75. [4] See below philological note on i. 7.
[5] See above on iii. 26, p. 81 [6] Cf. Bevan, p. 90, *et al.*

9 (6). a) **Master of the Magicians;** better, "chief of the magicians"; cf. ii. 48, where his appointment is referred to in a preliminary way. It is highly characteristic that the king does not call on Daniel until *after* he has tested the heathen magicians, although, according to C. ii., he must have known of the Hebrew's superior skill. This is, of course, a device of the author whose object was to show the futility of all heathen wisdom. To bring this about, therefore, he sacrifices to a certain extent the consistency of his narrative, as one would naturally expect that if Daniel were the chief magician he would have been summoned first.

9 (6). b) **Tell me the visions of my dream that I have seen and the interpretation thereof.** Lit. "the visions of my dream that I have seen and the interpretation thereof, tell me". Θ renders "hear" before "the visions", evidently feeling the incongruity of the sentence with what follows. The king tells Daniel here the form of his dream and does not require him, as in C. ii., both to tell the dream and explain its meaning. The passage, therefore, should read: "hear the visions of my dream which I have seen and its interpretation do thou tell"[7].

10 (7). I saw and behold, a tree in the midst of the earth, etc. The striking similarity between the symbolism used in this dream and that in Ezek. xxxi. 3–14 has been noticed even by the early expositors and concordance writers. It is quite possible that the author of Daniel borrowed his idea from this passage of Ezek., as has been suggested by several commentators[8]. Besides this, the king of Babylon is symbolized by a tree in Is. xiv. 12, a passage with which the Maccabæan writer was very probably familiar.

11 (8). The tree grew and was strong. This gradual growth, which the king, however, could witness, is typical of

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[7] See, however, Kamphausen, p. 24. [8] Cf, for ex., Hitzig, Dan. p. 61, etc.

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the developement of Nebuchadnezzar's power (cf. *v.* 22) which was to be interrupted at its very climax by his attack of mania.

12 (9). **And in it was meat for all, etc.,** e. g. for man and beast. Everything within Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom was dependent on him as supreme ruler. He was the central source of all authority and all property. This is very like the mediæval feudal idea that all holders of property were tenants of the crown.

13 (10). **A watcher and an holy one.** This means simply "an angel" and does not necessarily designate a special class of attendant spirits [9]. The expression "holy one" is necessary, in order to show that the watcher was super-human; cf. Ψ lxxxix. 6; 8; Zech. xiv. 5, where "the holy ones" means "angels".

14 (11). **He cried aloud and said thus.** The author does not state to whom the speech of the angel is addressed. He probably leaves the reader to imagine that the divine emissary is issuing his commands to various subordinate spirits who are to carry out the decree on Nebuchadnezzar.

15 (12). a) **Nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in the earth,** e. g. the king is not to be entirely destroyed. This clearly points forward to Nebuchadnezzar's ultimate recovery from his madness.

15 (12). b) **Even with a band of iron and brass.** This expression is certainly difficult. It can hardly refer to the stump which would not have been confined in this way [10], but must rather be a figure for the restraint which Nebuchadnezzar is to endure while suffering from his malady [11], e. g. he was to be confined in a field with the herds (see on *v.* 21). The only possible

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[9] See below, p. 86. [10] So v. Lengerke who refers it to the iron bands with which a tree is sometimes enclosed to keep it from splitting *(sic).* [11] The idea of Jerome that this refers to the chains with which madmen *(furiosi)* are bound is not satisfactory. There is nothing to indicate that Nebuchadnezzar became a *furiosus* in the sense of being a dangerous madman.

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explanation of the term is that we have here a mixture of metaphors.

15 (12). c) **In the tender grass of the field** explains the preceding phrase "with a band of iron and brass", typifying the king's confinement with the herds. It is by no means necessary to regard this with Behrmann as an interpolation (p. 26)[12]. The same expression occurs *v.* 23.

16 (13). a) **Let his heart be changed from man's, etc.** His human intelligence shall cease temporarily and he shall think and act like a beast. For the discussion of the nature of Nebuchadnezzar's insanity, see above pp. 32–5.

16 (13). b) **Let seven times pass over him.** "Times" must mean "years", as in vii. 25[13]. The indefinite number "seven" was used intentionally, in order to make the period uncertain. This is part of the punishment. The exact duration of his disease is not to be made known to the king. He is to suffer during Jhvh's good pleasure.

17 (14). The decree of the watchers ..... the word of the holy ones. These are synonymous expressions in parallelism. According to the angelology of the O. T., there is a sort of heavenly council made up of attendant spirits, angels, etc. This is seen for example from 1 Kings xxii. 19; Job i. 6; ii. 1. That their decree is identical with that of Jhvh may be seen from *v.* 24. The angels are not only counsellors, but more often direct executive emissaries of the divine will.

19 (16). a) **Was astonied for one hour.** This is certainly incorrect. The word translated "hour" can mean "a moment, a short period of time", so that the correct rendering is "for a short time". The Seer has no difficulty in understanding the dream, but is staggered at first at its true significance.

19 (16). b) **The dream be to them that hate thee, etc.** The author can hardly have meant to convey the idea that Daniel was especially friendly towards the king. He puts these con-

[12] See Kamphausen, p. 25. [13] Cf. also xii. 7. Some expositors translate "half-years", others "months", etc.

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ciliatory words into his mouth, intending rather to imply that the Prophet was afraid of the king's fury and wished to disclaim all personal responsibility for the interpretation.

20 (17). The writer displays great skill here in the statement of the dream by Daniel, leading up climactically to the application in *v.* 22 "it is thou, O king", etc.

24 (21). The decree of the Most High. This was called "the decree of the watchers" in *v.* 17 (14), showing that Jhvh works through his messengers.

26 (23). That the heavens do rule. "Heavens" here as a synonym for Jhvh is very interesting. It is used as a plural noun evidently intended as a plural of excellence, chiefly on the analogy of the ordinary Hebrew word for God; *'Elohîm.* It is also likely, however, that the author was influenced in his use of this plural word "heavens" by his idea regarding the hosts of angels[14], although this was most probably only a secondary consideration. "Heavens" is not used elsewhere in the O. T. in this sense, but is common in the Apocrypha[15] and Mishna to denote the Supreme Being. It is clearly a late Hebrew usage. The application of "heavens" in such a sense seems to have arisen from the conception that Jhvh was especially the God of the Heavens (see ii. 18; 19; 44). In the N. T. also the heavens, e. g. the divine government, are regarded as a kingdom presided over by the eternal Father (cf. Matth. iii. 2; iv. 17, etc.).

27 (24). a) **Break off thy sin by righteousness and thine iniquities by showing mercies to the poor.** It is highly striking that LXX. P. and V. translate "almsgiving" instead of "righteousness", in parallelism with the second member of the verse "showing mercies to the poor", and it is true that the word in later Hebrew, as in Syriac and Arabic, has only this meaning. Such an injunction, however, to give alms to the needy, would hardly be appropriate in this connection ad-

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[14] See *v.* 35 b and Behrmann, p. 29. [15] 1 Macc. iv. 10; 24; 55.

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dressed to Nebuchadnezzar. The true sense of the passage appears to be indicated by the actual meaning of the word translated "poor" in the A. V., which should be rendered "oppressed, wretched ones". The original meaning is "bowed down". It seems to refer, not to the destitute generally, but especially to the oppressed of Israel in Babylon. This is in strict accordance with the use of the same word in the later Psalms. "Righteousness", therefore, can only mean here "generosity, kindness". The whole passage should be translated: "Break off (i. e. cast away) thy sins by kind acts and thy iniquities by showing mercies to the wretched ones (of Jhvh)".

27 (24). b) **If it may be a lengthening of thy tranquillity.** There is some difference of opinion regarding this phrase[16]. It seems however that the best rendering is as follows: — "if, perchance[17], there may be a duration of thy prosperity". The author probably intended to convey the idea that Nebuchadnezzar's future welfare would depend on his treatment of the captive Israelites and accordingly holds this hope out as an inducement to the heathen king. There can hardly be any direct allusion here to Antiochus Epiphanes. The sentence is merely an assurance to the reader that the welfare of Israel is of the highest importance to Jhvh who will reward a heathen monarch greatly or punish him terribly, according to his treatment of the members of the chosen nation under his rule. That such a principle was highly appropriate to the Maccabæan period is of course apparent.

29 (26). In the palace of the kingdom of Babylon. Translate "on (the roof of) the royal palace of Babylon"; cf. 2 Sam. xi. 2, where David is described as taking the air in the same place. It is a common custom in the East at the present day to sit and walk on the flat roofs of the houses during the evening and during the summer season even to sleep there. After constructing several great temples, Nebuchad-

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[16] See below, philological note. [17] ϴ ἴσως; V. *forsitan*; cf. also Ezra v. 17.

nezzar built a magnificent palace, provided with all the luxuries of the time. In the records of his reign, this building is alluded to as a proof of the glory of his majesty, in which the king rejoices because it is strong enough to keep out his foes[18].

30 (27). a) **Is not this great Babylon etc.** See above p. 31 for a description of the glories of Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar. There can be no doubt that this speech of the king is quite in accordance with historical facts.

30 (27). b) **For the house of the kingdom,** e. g. for his royal residence.

31 (28). There fell a voice from Heaven. This is an *audible* judgment in contrast to the *visible one* in the next chapter[19].

33 (30). Till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers and his nails like birds' claws. LXX. compare the nails to the claws of a lion, but Θ makes the hair like a lion's mane. There is no reason, however, to depart from the received text which keeps the parallelism. The bird referred to is not the eagle, but the Oriental great vulture. The comparison of bristly long hair with the long and thick plumage of this bird is not inappropriate. In Ezek. xvii. 3 the "eagle" is said to be long-winged and full of feathers.

34 (31). a) **And at the end of the days,** e. g. of the uncertain period of seven times (*v.* 23).

34 (31). b) **I N. lifted up mine eyes to heaven.** The moral of the whole chapter is contained in this and the following verses. The idea seems to be that the king had been engaged in browsing on the grass like an animal. When his reason returned and he realized that he was a man, he accordingly lifted up his eyes. Bevan[20] cites an interesting parallel for this expression from Euripides, *Bacchae,* 1265ff. where the maddened Agaue did the same thing. Lifting up the head,

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[18] See Tiele, Gesch. p. 449. [19] Behrmann, p. 30. [20] Dan. p. 96.

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rising to the natural human erect position and looking once more on the heavens, the seat of Divinity, indicates that the king had regained his senses and that he recognized the source of his humiliating punishment. He, therefore, proceeds to praise and honour the God of Daniel, as in ii. and iii., thus humbling himself before the divine Protector of Israel.

35 (32). a) **And all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing**[21]. This is probably a reminiscence of Is. xl. 17. The expression "and none can stay his hand" may have been suggested by Is. xliii. 13.

35 (32). b) **The army of heaven.** See 1 Kings xxii. 19; Ψ ciii. 21. This is plainly an allusion to the hosts of attendant spirits, the heavenly messengers, who have been mentioned before as being instrumental in carrying out Jhvh's will on Nebuchadnezzar. This expression is a very ancient one appearing in the Babylonian account of the Creation[22], e. g. "the hosts of heaven and earth", where it refers to the myriads of inferior supernatural beings who, according to the early Semitic conception, peopled all nature. "Hosts of heaven" was also in later times a synonym for the stars which were considered to be angels; cf. the imagery in Rev. ix. 1.

35 (32). c) **What doest thou**; cf. Job ix. 12; Eccles. viii. 4.

36 (33). a) **At the same time my reason returned unto me.** This is simply a reiteration of *v.* 34, in order to take up the thread of the narrative which had been broken temporarily by 34b–35.

36 (33). b) **And for the glory of my kingdom mine honour and brightness returned unto me.** This translation is not incorrect. These words which are needlessly omitted in P. are perfectly clear. They can only mean that the king was once more restored to his throne in all his former glory. The

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[21] For the word "nothing", see philological note. [22] K. 5419, 15; see also IV. R. 25, 49–50[b].

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repetition "returned unto me" is intentional and is quite in keeping with the solemn style of the passage[23].

37 (34). This verse is the final summing up of the result of the king's punishment, e. g. his recognition of the God of Israel. Hitzig's idea that *v.* 37 refers to a separate occurrence from that recorded in *v.* 34 is entirely unwarranted[24].

CHAPTER FIFTH.

Contrast between Belshazzar and Nebuchadnezzar.

The author takes quite a new departure in this and the following chapter, although the aim of these two last narrative sections is undoubtedly identical with that of the four preceding ones; viz., the writer strives to depict here as everywhere in the first part of the Book the certain humiliation of a heathen king who is hostile to Israel. In Cc. v. and vi., however, the subject is no longer the great king Nebuchadnezzar, in whose reign the scenes of the first four chapters are laid. In C. v., we have the Biblical account of the fall of Babylon in the reign of the great king's "son" Belshazzar who is represented as having been, not merely haughty and overbearing like his predecessor Nebuchadnezzar, but a blasphemous enemy of Jhvh who, at a ribald banquet, actually profaned the sacred vessels of the Holy Temple at Jerusalem which had been brought to Babylon as spoils by Nebuchadnezzar and deposited by him in the treasury of the heathen temple there. This is, of course, a direct allusion to a similar event in the author's own time (recorded 1 Macc. i. 20–23) and, as the sacrilege was perhaps the most fearful one conceivable by a Jew, so Belshazzar's act is almost immediately

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[23] Hitzig translated: "*and also* the glory of my kingdom, my majesty and splendour returned unto me" (pp. 70–1), which is unnecessary. See Kamphausen, p. 26, Behrmann, p. 31 for full discussion. [24] Dan. p. 70.

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followed by the most terrible punishment imaginable; viz., his complete overthrow, and the passage of his kingdom to strangers by race and religion. The stories regarding the discipline of Nebuchadnezzar and his recognition of Jhvh's power really rise to a climax in this chapter. The great king had never shown himself so dead to all religious feeling as actually to insult Jhvh directly. He had merely been haughtily forgetful of his duties towards the people who were divinely committed to his care, but had always bowed to chastisement and freely acknowledged the power of Israel's God. In Belshazzar, on the other hand, we have the culmination of wanton irreligious vice which betrays a degradation of character too deep to admit of any improvement and which must, therefore, simply be crushed by a single blow. Such appears to be the author's idea in his brief character sketches of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar. There can be little doubt that in this story of Belshazzar's fall we have the expression of a hope that a similar fate will overtake the persecutor and desecrator of the author's own time.

The Historical Material of the Fifth Chapter.

In order to arrive at the historical value of this account of the overthrow of the Semitic power in Babylon, it may be well to enter briefly into the history of that event, comparing the most important versions.

The Account of Berossus.

Previous to the discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions relating to the fall of Babylon, comparatively little could be known accurately. The chief sources upon which historians were forced to depend were the account of Berossus, which Eusebius and Josephus took from Alexander Polyhistor, and the narrative of Herodotus, i. 188 ff. The statement of Berossus in Josephus, Contra Apionem, i. 20, is as follows: "Nabuchodonosor . . . fell sick and departed this life when he had reigned forty-three years, whereupon his son Evilmerodach obtained

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the kingdom. He governed public affairs after an illegal and impure manner, and had a plot laid against him by Neriglissar, his sister's husband, and was slain by him when he had reigned but two years. After he was slain, Neriglissar, the person who had plotted against him, succeeded to the kingdom and reigned four years. His son, Laborosoarchod, though but a child, obtained the kingdom and kept it nine months, but by reason of the very ill temper and ill practices which he exhibited to the world, a plot was laid against him by his friends and he was tortured to death. After his death the conspirators got together and by common consent put the crown upon the head of Nabonnedus, a man of Babylon and one who belonged to that insurrection. ... But when he was come to the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus came out of Persia with a great army, and having already conquered the rest of Asia, came hastily to Babylon. When Nabonnedus perceived that he was coming to attack him, he met him with his forces, and joining battle was defeated and fled away with a few of his troops and shut himself up within the city of Borsippus. Hereupon Cyrus took Babylon and gave order that the outer wall of the city be demolished, because the city had proved very troublesome, and cost him a great deal of pains to take. He then marched to Borsippus to besiege Nabonnedus. As Nabonnedus, however, did not sustain the siege, but delivered himself up beforehand, he was kindly used by Cyrus who gave him Carmania as a place to dwell in, sending him out of Babylon. Nabonnedus accordingly spent the rest of his life in that country and there died"[1].

The Account of Herodotus.

Herodotus, i. 188 ff., relates that the King of Babylon, Labynetus, the son of the great queen Nitocris, was attacked by

[1] For this statement concerning the banishment of Nabonidus to Carmania, cf. also Eusebius, Evang. Præp. ix. 40—41; Chron. Arm. i. 10, the account of Abydenus.

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Cyrus. The Persian king, on his march to Babylon, arrived at the river Gyndes, a tributary of the Tigris. While the Persians were trying to cross this stream, one of the white consecrated horses boldly entered the water and, being swept away by the rapidity of the current, was lost. Cyrus, exasperated by the accident, suspended his operations against Babylon and wasted the entire summer in satisfying his resentment by draining the river dry. On the approach of the following spring, however, he marched against Babylon. The Babylonians, as he advanced, met and gave him battle, but were defeated and driven back into the city. The inhabitants of Babylon had previously guarded against a siege by collecting provisions and other necessaries sufficient for many years' support, so that Cyrus was compelled to resort to stratagem. He accordingly "placed one detachment of his forces where the river first enters the city and another where it leaves it, directing them to go into the channel and attack the town wherever the passage could be effected. After this disposition of his men, he withdrew with the less effective of his troops to the marshy ground ... and pierced the bank, introducing the river into the lake (the lake made by Nitocris some distance from Babylon; see Herodotus, i. 185), by which means the bed of the Euphrates became sufficiently shallow for the object in view. The Persians in their station watched the better opportunity and when the stream had so far retired as not to be higher than their thighs they entered Babylon without difficulty". The account goes on to say that, as the Babylonians were engaged in a festival, they were completely surprised by the sudden attack and unable to defend the city which thus fell an easy prey to the invaders.

The Cuneiform Records.

The two cuneiform documents relating to the fall of Babylon which have shed a wonderful light on this period of the world's history are the Cyrus Cylinder and the Annals of

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Nabonidus[2]. The former was discovered in 1879 by the workmen of Hormuzd Rassam in the ruins of Qaçr at Babylon, a hill which, according to the opinion of Rassam, covers the remains of a great palace, i. e. that of Nebuchadnezzar. The tablet called the Annals of Nabonidus was obtained by the British Museum in 1879 from Spartoli and Co. The place where it was found is unknown, although Mr. Pinches declares decidedly that the document came from Babylon. It seems to belong to a series of annalistic tablets which were collected and preserved by the Achæmenian kings. The Cyrus Cylinder is a highly laudatory account of Cyrus's glorious entrance into Babylon, evidently written by some scribe under the Persian rule, while the so-called Annals are a concise historical summary of the events of the reign of Nabonidus until the accession of Cyrus, a paragraph being devoted to the events of each year.

The Developement of Cyrus' Power.

Before passing on to the history of the advance of the Persians on Babylonia the following facts should be noticed. After Cyrus, king of the unimportant state of *Anšan*[3], according to the record of the Annals, had got possession of Media, the Persian prince, finding himself transformed from the ruler of an insignificant province to the leader of a great kingdom, turned his eyes westward. Here Nabonidus the king of Babylon, who had at first regarded the defeat of his old enemies the Medes[4] as a direct intervention of the gods, now becoming alarmed at the sudden rise of this new power, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Lydia and Egypt, a league which should certainly have been sufficient to check the advance of the Persian forces. Lydia was compelled, however, by the swift movements of the enemy to defend herself

[2] See Prince, *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*, pp. 65—101. [3] See Appendix. [4] The Medes during the reign of Nabonidus had attacked and destroyed the city of Harran and the temple of the Moon-god; cf. V. R. 64, 12.

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without waiting for her allies. Cyrus, after totally routing the Lydian army at Pteria [5], proceeded directly against Sardis, the capital, which he captured without difficulty and there established his permanent headquarters in the northwest. The Persian king did not hasten at once against Babylonia, his second powerful rival, but, after settling affairs in Lydia and appointing governours [6] over all the conquered provinces, returned to Ecbatana.

The true historical Account.

The following historical account of the approach of Cyrus on Babylonia and the fall of that empire may be gathered from the Annals of Nabonidus and the Cyrus Cylinder.

The record of the Annals, which must have been very complete, is unhappily so mutilated that comparatively little can be learned about the early period of the invasion. We may conjecture from a very broken passage (c. ii. l. 21–22) that the Persians may have made an invasion from Elam against Erech, in the tenth year of Nabonidus, but this is by no means certain. Where the text treating of the actual conquest of Babylon is legible, the matter seems practically to be decided. It is stated that Nabonidus entered the Temple of *Eturkalama* (Annals, iii. 6), most probably to seek help from the gods. We may then conjecture, — the translation is very doubtful, — that a rebellion against his authority took place

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[5] See Herodotus, i. 76. Note that Justin, Hist., i. 7, makes Cyrus begin the war with Babylon before that with Lydia, interrupting his conflict, however, in order to conquer Crœsus who had offered aid to Babylon. Sulpicius, Hist., ii. 10, passed directly from the Median conquest to that of Babylonia. Crœsus, king of Lydia, whom Cyrus captured, was according to Herodotus, i. 75, the brother-in-law of Astyages. Cyrus treated him kindly and gave him the city of Barene near Ecbatana as a residence, according to Ctesias, with five thousand riders and ten thousand bowmen as retinue. [6] See Herodotus, i. 153. The post of governor of Sardis was one of the most important positions in the Persian Empire. This official seems to have held the precedence over the neighbouring satraps. Compare Nöldeke, Aufsätze zur altpersischen Geschichte, p. 21.

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on the lower sea. The god Bel was apparently brought out with a solemn religious festival (c. iii. 8. 9. 10), and, as a last resource, numerous deities were brought to Babylon as a protection to that city. This, says the chronicler of the Cyrus Cylinder, so infuriated Marduk, the god of the city of Babylon, that he decided to deliver up Nabonidus to Cyrus (Cyl. 10 ff. and 33, 34). In the month Tammuz (539 B. C.) Cyrus offered battle at Opis and apparently also on a canal (?) Salsallat, which evidently resulted in his favor. The Babylonians, defeated on all sides and disgusted with their feeble king, surrendered Sippar to the Persians on the 14th of Tammuz (539–538 B. C., see Annals iii. 14). As this city was the key to the whole sluice region it was important for Cyrus to get possession of it before he could besiege Babylon successfully. By breaking the dams at Sippar in case of need, the water could be cut off from all the plain. As we have seen, according to the account of Herodotus just given above, Babylon was said to have been captured by the device of drawing off the water of the Euphrates [7], but the short space of time intervening between the capture of Sippar and Babylon seems to show that no such device was resorted to. Two days after the capture of Sippar (16th of Tammuz), the gates of the capital itself were opened to Gobryas [8], the governor of Gutium and commander of a section of the Persian army, who for-

[7] Cf. also Xenophon, Cyrop. vii. 5, 15. [8] In the record of the Cylinder no mention is made of Gobryas; it is simply stated that Cyrus and his army entered the city without battle. See Cyl., 16, 17. The Annals, however, give more details of the conquest and, moreover, are a strictly impartial account. It is much more flattering to Cyrus to attribute to him, as in the Cylinder, all the glory of the capture and not to mention any of his generals. It is interesting to notice that Xen., Cyrop., vii. 5, 24 ff., has also preserved the account of the capture of the city by Gobryas, making him, however, a great Assyrian leader, who, desiring vengeance on the king of Babylon for the murder of his only son, allied himself with Cyrus. According to Xenophon, Babylon was taken by the two generals, Gobryas and Gadates.

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mally took possession of the city in Cyrus's name "without strife or battle".

Nabonidus, who had fled to Babylon after the capture of Sippar, was taken prisoner and held to await the coming of Cyrus. Here again, owing to a doubtful text, we are reduced to conjecture. The Babylonian party seems to have wished to use the temples as storehouses for arms (?), for the troops of Gobryas surrounded them and guarded them carefully.

Four months later, on the third of Marchešvan, Cyrus himself entered the city of Babylon and decreed peace to all, appointing his general Gobryas governour of the city and sending back to their own shrines the gods which Nabonidus had brought to Babylon. The Persian monarch was received with great rejoicings by the nobles, priests and people, who hastened to declare their allegiance (Cyl. 18). He then assumed formally the title of king of Babylon and of Sumer and Akkad (Cyl. 20), receiving the homage of the tributary kings of the westland[9] (Cyl. 28). It is probable, in accordance with the account of Berossus, given above, that Cyrus dismantled to some extent the fortifications of Babylon soon after its capture. That he cannot utterly have destroyed the defences is evident from the fact that the city stood repeated sieges during subsequent revolts; one under Cyrus, two under Darius Hystaspis, and one under Xerxes[10]. Judging from the assertion of Jerome[11] that the walls had been repaired and renewed as an enclosure for a park, they were probably at no time completely destroyed.

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[9] Gaza alone in the land of the Philistines seems to have refused tribute and offered resistance; see the citation to Valesius Polyb., xvi. 40, quoted by Nöldeke, Aufsätze, p. 23. n. 2. [10] See G. Rawlinson, Herodotus, p. 425, n. 5. For the second revolt of Babylon, see Herod., iii. 153—160, the story of Zopyrus. A curious work regarding Zopyrus is that of Joh. Christoph. De Zopyro Babylonios fallente, 1685. [11] Comm. on Isaiah iii. 23; ed. Vallarsi, iv. p. 180.

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The causes for the Fall of Babylon.

The causes which led to the fall of the Babylonian dynasty and to the transferring of the empire to the Persians are not difficult to determine.

Nabupaluçur, the father of the great Nebuchadnezzar, was the first independent king of Babylon after the overthrow of Assyria. After an uneventful reign of twenty-one years he was succeeded by his son Nebuchadnezzar, the real founder of the empire of Babylon. He was not only a great warrior, the terror of whose arms was felt as far as Egypt, and who, by his conquests made Babylon the political centre of a mighty empire, but also a lover of art and architecture, who prized his reputation as the restorer of the capital far more than his military fame[12]. As remarked above, Nebuchadnezzar was the greatest name in Babylonian history, the culminating point of Babylonian glory. After his time the kings were weak, incapable characters, judging from the account of Berossus, not even able to protect their own crowns. The last king, Nabonidus, though better than his immediate predecessors, was the creature of a conspiracy against his youthful predecessor *Labaši-Marduk.* Nabonidus was probably not of royal blood, as it is stated in the record of Berossus that he was a man of Babylon, and he calls himself in his inscriptions, the son of a noble[13].

It will appear, therefore, that the seeds of decay were ripening fast, as early as the beginning of the reign of this king, who, had he been a different character, might have delayed the final catastrophe at least beyond his own lifetime. But Nabonidus, as is evident from the tone of the records of his reign, was by nature a peaceful prince, whose taste lay not in government or conquest, but in archæology and religious architecture.

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[12] See above p. 31. [13] Compare the account of Berossus given above and the record of Abydenus quoting Megasthenes as saying that "Labassoracus" being destroyed, they made Nabonidus *βασιλέα προσήκοντα οἱ οὐδέν* "king having no claim to this rank"; see Euseb. Præp., Evang., ix. 40, 41; Euseb., Chron. Armen. i. c. 10.

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His inscriptions are one long list of temples repaired [14] and pious duties performed. Under his feeble sway the vast and heterogeneous empire, lacking the strong hand of a conquering ruler to punish defection and protect his subjects from foreign attacks [15], naturally began to fall to pieces, until finally the Babylonian name in Western Asia, became more a shadow than a reality.

Toward the close of his reign Nabonidus showed himself even more incapable than in his earlier years, for while devoting especial attention to the repairing and maintenance of the temples, he entirely neglected the defences of the capital, choosing to live in Tema rather than in Babylon, and evidently leaving all military matters to his son, who, as shown above (p. 37), was probably in command of the army. Practically no steps seem to have been taken either to prevent the advance of the Persians or to meet them when they came, so that when Cyrus arrived, he probably found a people discontented with their king and ready to exchange his rule for a firmer sway. The fact that both Sippar and Babylon were taken by the Persian forces "without battle" certainly seems to show that there existed a powerful faction in Babylonia in league with the invaders.

It is possible that the priests of Marduk in the city of Babylon were especially instrumental in bringing about the final blow. We have already noticed that the priesthood was probably hostile to *Belšaruçur* the crown-prince. It can easily be imagined how, disgusted with the king's neglect of the regular offerings and finally, infuriated with his infringement on the jurisdiction of their god by introducing strange deities into

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[14] Hagen in the BA. ii. p. 237, note, gives a complete list of the temples repaired by Nabonidus. [15] The king seems to have been unable, either to prevent the attack of the Medes on Harran, or to punish them for their destruction of the city. He was equally powerless to resist the expedition of Amasis of Egypt against Cyprus, by which several cities were captured. See Tiele, Gesch. p. 468.

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Babylon, they would naturally have cast their influence in favour of a change of rule[16]. It must be remembered that the priests exercised the most powerful influence in Babylonian affairs, being even stronger than the royal house. The inscriptions of every sort point to the supremacy and importance of the religious classes, one of the most constant themes of these documents being the frequent allusion to buildings of temples, temple gifts, restoration of offerings, etc. This prominence of the priestly classes is to be explained by the fact that they were the custodians of all knowledge. The arts of writing, astronomy, and magic were their peculiar provinces. It will readily be understood, therefore, that their favour or disfavour would turn the scale in an attempt against the reigning dynasty. In addition to this it may be supposed that the large Jewish element which had been transplanted to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar and which could not be expected to feel especially well disposed toward the Babylonian dynasty, probably played a considerable part in the final conspiracy. Their reasons for so doing were of course not identical with those of the rebellious Babylonians. It may be supposed that the native Babylonians, glad at any price to be rid of their incompetent ruler, were forced to make the best of a foreign supremacy, while the religious element among the captive Jews, to whom permission to return to Palestine may have been promised beforehand[17], certainly regarded Cyrus as the Anointed of Jhvh,

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[16] Nabonidus was certainly not a reactionary heretic who tried to introduce a Sin cult; (so Floigl, Cyrus und Her., p. 2) first, because the king did not confine his attention to Sin (cf. the list of the temples repaired, Hagen, BA. ii. p. 237 note,) and secondly, as Tiele has pointed out (Gesch., p. 460), it was the priests of Marduk who inspired him to repair the temples and to give attention to the cults of other deities. Compare V. R. 64, 16, where Marduk reveals his will in this connection to Nabonidus in a dream. The insult to Marduk which turned the scale against the king was his criminal slothfulness about protecting Babylon and his introduction of other gods into Marduk's own city. [17] Compare the enthusiastic prophecies regarding the destruction of Babylon and the references to Cyrus, the shepherd of

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who would carry out His will in every respect and utterly destroy Babylon and its gods, a hope which Cyrus was wise enough not to realize.

The Feast.

That a festival, as mentioned in the Book of Daniel, actually took place on the eve of the capture of Babylon is not at all improbable[18]. Although we have no parallel account of such an event in the inscriptions[19], it certainly seems rather significant that both Herodotus and Xenophon allude to a feast at this time. As we have seen, according to Herodotus i. 191, Babylon was captured while the besieged were off their guard during a festival. Xenophon also, alluding to the capture of Babylon, says that Cyrus had heard that a feast was going on[20]. Of course, the allusion in Jeremiah li. 39, referred to in Rawlinson's Herodotus, i. p. 424, is merely general and cannot be understood as referring to a final festival.

Correct Traditions.

It is now demonstrated by the cuneiform inscriptions that at least the *name* Belshazzar[21], not found elsewhere in the

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God, Isaiah, xiii. xiv. xliv. 28; xlv.; Ψ cxxxvii; Jer. l–li. Cyrus permitted the Jews to return to their old home in the first year of his reign—537 B.C. See Ezra, i. The prophecies of the destruction of Babylon were certainly not carried out, the only one fulfilled to the letter being that regarding the return of the Jews.

[18] It may not be uninteresting to note, that Hävernick, Dan. p. 176, following Vorstius, Exercit. Acad. p. 4 identified this final feast of the Book of Daniel with the Σακαία which, according to Athenæus (Deipnosoph. xiv. 639), corresponded to the Saturnalia. [19] In the Annals of Nabonidus, iii. 8, mention is made of a religious festival (the New Year's feast) which took place probably about twelve months before the capture of the city. This, Andreä, Beweis des Glaubens, 1888, p. 257, etc., believed to be the festival of the Book of Daniel; a highly improbable theory. [20] Cyrop. vii. 5, 15. [21] See above pp. 35 ff. It is interesting to note that the Babylonian proper names in Daniel seem to be for the most part genuine, although of course it cannot be supposed that the author understood their meaning. Compare in this connection the names Arioch, Belteshazzar, and Abednego which are traceable to a Babylonian origin, and see further

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Old Testament, is based on correct tradition, notwithstanding the errors into which the author fell regarding the *person* of the last king. Although undoubtedly wrong in considering Belshazzar the last king of Babylon, the writer of Daniel may have been influenced in this particular by tradition. *Belšaruçur* was the son of the last king, and was probably, as stated above p. 37, in command of the army and actively concerned in the conflict with the invading Persians. We cannot doubt that he was a person of great political prominence in the empire, and it is even possible that he may have been possessed of more influence than his father. If this were the case, a legend making the crown-prince the real king is easily to be explained.

The author of Daniel seems to be approximately correct concerning the death of Belshazzar. The Biblical Belshazzar was slain on the eve of the capture of the city by the Persians, and it is extremely likely from a new reading of a mutilated passage in the Annals of Nabonidus (iii., l. 23), that *Belšaruçur* the king's son met his death soon after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus's forces. If the reading which I have adopted of this passage of the Annals be correct[22], it is probable that after the capture of Babylon, Belshazzar with a remnant of the royal forces made a last despairing resistance which was crushed by Cyrus's general Gobryas, and that the patriot prince thus met his death at the hands of the invader[23]. The Annals

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Friedr. Delitzsch in the Preface to Baer and Delitzsch, Text of Ezra, Neh. and Daniel. It is instructive te observe here the difference between the genuine names in Daniel and the spurious character of those in the book of Judith, showing the superiority of the tradition followed by the author of Daniel.

[22] See Prince, Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin, p. 89. [23] It should be noticed that both of the Babylonian rebels against Darius Hystaspis gave themselves out to be Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus. This certainly seems to show that at that time *Belšaruçur*, the firstborn son of the king, was generally known to be dead, as otherwise his name would have served as a more promising catchword for rebellion than that of a younger prince. According to Behistun, 1, 16;

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go on to say that a solemn mourning was then instituted, probably by order of Cyrus himself.

Of course nothing certain about this event can be known until a duplicate text be discovered which shall supply the missing words of the mutilated passage. If the interpretation here given is correct, the agreement of both Herodotus and Xenophon, as well as of the book of Daniel, that the last king of Babylon was slain at the time of the capture of the city, may be a perversion of this account of the death of the king's son. It is interesting to note here that the author of Isaiah xiv. 19, clearly expected the destruction of the last king of Babylon with the overthrow of the city. We may conclude, then, that in the case of the Book of Daniel, the tradition which the author followed in calling the last king Belshazzar, may have arisen from the prominence of the son of Nabonidus during his father's reign, and perhaps especially towards its close, in the government of Babylon; and that the allusion to Belshazzar's death about the time of the capture of Babylon possibly had its origin in the death of the king's son at the hands of the Persians.

The preservation of the name Belshazzar, found only here in the Old Testament, and now confirmed by the cuneiform inscriptions, the approximately correct statement regarding his death, and the striking agreement just mentioned of the record of Herodotus and the Biblical account would seem to show, therefore, that the story of the fifth chapter of Daniel may not altogether lack an historical element.

The fifth chapter of Daniel falls naturally into four paragraphs; viz., the profanation of the Temple vessels, 1–4; the

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3, 13; 4, 2, the names of these two rebellious chiefs were *Nadintabel*, son of Amri, who seems to have been for a short time successful in his rebellion, as there are a few contracts dating from the first year of his reign (Hommel, Gesch. p. 787, n. 1), and Arakh an Armenian, son of Handikes. Nothing is known of this Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus.

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portent, 5–12; the entrance of Daniel, 13–16; his interpretation of the prophetic sentence and its fulfillment, 17–25.

1. a) **A great feast.** The Babylonians were celebrated for the luxury of their private life, cf. Curtius v. 1 "the Babylonians are very much given to wine and to whatever produces drunkenness".

1. b) **Before the thousand,** e. g. facing them. At such a feast the king would naturally sit facing his lords at a separate table; cf. 1 Sam. xx. 25, where it is stated that the king sat during his meal on a special seat by the wall. The Assyrian kings when eating also sat apart in this way; cf. fig. 33 in Kaulen's Assyrien und Babylonien, p. 54, representing a monarch taking his meal surrounded by servants and protected by the gods. It is recorded[24], furthermore, that this was also the custom of the Persian and Parthian kings at festivals[25]. The expression "drank wine before the thousand" does not mean that the king pledged them a toast[26], but is rather an indication that the author wished to lay stress on the bad example set by Belshazzar[27] in thus feasting riotously before such a great number of people. Athenæus says, *loc. cit.*[24] that the Persian kings generally had about twelve guests when they feasted.

2. a) **While he tasted the wine**[28]. This translation is incorrect. It should be rendered: "being under the influence of the wine". R. Salomo and Ibn Ezra understood the passage correctly, translating "at the bidding of the wine"[29].

2. b) **Commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels.** The author evidently regarded this as a terrible pro-

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[24] Athenæus, Deipnosophistæ, Bk. iv. 26, on the authority of Heraclides of Cuma; Posidonius, De Parth. i. v; in Athen. iv. 38. [25] For ancient customs regarding the royal table, see Jahn, Biblical Archæology (Upham) § 227. [26] Bertholdt, Dan. p. 364; Hävernick, Dan. p. 174. [27] Behrmann, p. 32. [28] See Hävernick, p. 174; Kranichfeld, p. 214; Hitzig, p. 79, etc. [29] Cf. Hävernick, p. 175. LXX *Ἐνοψουμένος ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου*; *Θ ἐν τῇ γεύσει τοῦ οἴνου*; V. *jam temulentus.*

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fanation (see *v.* 23). Hävernick's strange idea[30] that Belshazzar wished to honour Jhvh by using the sacred vessels, finds no confirmation in the text. That the vessels were not sent for until the king was well in his cups, seems to show that the author wished to represent the command as a drunken whim. These vessels were brought to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar at the time of the first capture of Jerusalem (597 B. C.) in the reign of Jeconiah (2 Kings xxiv. 13), and were restored by Cyrus in the first year of his reign at the time of the return of the exiles (Ezra i. 7 ff.). The allusion to the vessels being brought from Jerusalem to Babylon was first made C. i. 2.

2. c) **His wives and his concubines.** The wife of the king who held the rank of queen was among the Assyrians and Babylonians usually she who bore the first son[31]. As it is well known that the greatest freedom of life prevailed at Babylon, especially with regard to the relations between the sexes, there is nothing incongruous in the statement that women were present at feasts. According to Curtius 5. 5, they were admitted to drinking bouts[32]. Regarding the Persian customs in this matter, accounts vary. According to Josephus[33], it does not seem to have been proper for women to be seen by strangers. On the other hand, if the record of Esther can be trusted thus far, the queen consort seems to have been able to invite men high in rank to dine with her and the king (Esther v.). In Herodotus, too (5. 18), it is stated that not only the concubines, but also the young wives

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[30] Dan., pp. 175 ff. [31] Cf. Delitzsch-Mürdter, Gesch. p. 118.
[32] Curtius says: "*Feminarum convivia ineuntium in principio modestus est habitus; dein summa quaeque amicula exuunt, paulatimque pudorem profanant; ad ultimum (honos auribus sit) ima corporum velamento projiciunt; nec meretricum hoc dedecus est sed matronarum virginumque apud quas comites habetur vulgati corporis vilitas*". See also Her. v. 18.
[33] See Ant. xi. 6, 1, referring to Esther i. 10; 12, the refusal of Vashti to obey the king's command to present herself before him and his lords.

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were accustomed to be present at Persian feasts. Plutarch, however, asserts (Sympos. I. 1.) that concubines were allowed at feasts, but not wives[34].

It is worthy of notice that the Septuagint makes no mention of the presence of women in this passage of Daniel. The probability is that the translator deliberately omitted it, as being repugnant to his ideas of propriety[35].

3. a) — Verse 3 is a good example of the repetition of the narrative style. One codex omits it altogether, — see Bertholdt, Daniel p. 368. n. 4.

3. b) **The golden vessels.** Insert here the words "and silver", e. g. "the vessels of gold and silver"; so Θ and V.

5. a) **Over against the candlestick,** e. g. opposite the light where the writing could be most easily seen.

There is a double Greek translation of *vv.* 1, 4 and 5[36]. In this verse the words written on the wall are transferred from *v.* 25 and the following interpretation is given: *mane* "it is numbered"; *phares* "it is taken away" and, *thekel* "it is weighed".

5. b) **Upon the plaster of the wall.** A plain stucco work or simple painted plaster. In the ruins of the palace at Nimroud a thin coating of painted plaster was discovered by Layard, the colours of which when first found were still fresh and brilliant[37]. The interior of the later Babylonian houses was frequently painted, on the lower half of the wall more in figures, but above ornamentally[38]. That plaster mixed with ashes was used for mortar is evident from the ruins of Ur (Mugheir), but it is probably a later development. Plaster seems to have been known also in Palestine; cf. Josephus, Antiquities, viii. 5. 2., describing Solomon's pal-

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[34] Cf. Pusey, Dan. p. 382, vi. 2. This statement was applied to the Parthians by Macrobius, Saturnalia, Lib. vii. 1; cf. also Justin, xli. 3.
[35] So Hävernick, p. 180. [36] For the variants, see Pusey, p. 502. See pp. 112 ff. [37] Nineveh ii. p. 203; also Kaulen, Assyrien u. Bab. pp. 52; 109; 262. [38] See Reber, ZA. i. p. 303.

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ace; "but the other part up to the roof was plastered over and, as it were, embroidered with colours and pictures[39].

The feast of Belshazzar is represented by the author to be in a room or hall, and not necessarily in a garden (v. Lengerke), or pavilion (Hävernick). Hezel (cited Bertholdt, Daniel p. 369) thought that it was in the inner court of the palace (?).

5. c) **And the king saw the part of the hand that wrote.** For "part", translate "surface of the hand". It is interesting to note in this connection that so great a scholar as Johann David Michaelis, of Göttingen, was the author of the following wild but amusing theory. He translated the expression "surface of the hand" by "the inner surface or palm of the hand". That is, the hand must have appeared to the king as if writing from the other side of the wall, which by some mysterious means had become transparent! The idea in the author's mind seems to have been that the king saw the outline of the miraculous hand which appeared above his couch.

6. The joints of his loins were loosed. The loins were regarded as the seat of both fear and suffering, cf. Ezek. xxi. 12; Ψ lxix. 24; Deut. xxxiii. 11; Is. xxi. 3; Nah. ii. 12.

7. a) **Shall be clothed with scarlet and have a chain of gold about his neck.** Better "should wear scarlet and a chain of gold about his neck". There is no need to supply "have" as does the A. V.

The darker purple scarlet was a colour held in high esteem in antiquity. Compare Ezekiel xxvii. 7; Esther viii. 15, Herodotus 3. 20, and Xenophon, Cyropædia 1. 3. 2: 8. 5. 18. We may remember the *purpurati* of the Persian kings who wore the *κάνδυς*. Oriental sovereigns sent robes of this colour to their vassals very much as the popes sent the pallium in the middle ages (1 Maccabees x. 20: xiv. 43. 44.). The Syriac chronicle of the Jacobite primate Gregory Bar Hebræus

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[39] In this connection, cf. Jahn, *op. cit.* § 39.

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(1226–1286 A. D.) relates how the Sultan Masud sent a purple robe to a favourite who had done him a service.

A gold chain seems to have been worn by the higher class Persians (Xenophon, Anab. 1. 8. 29). It was given as a sign of special favor (cf. Herodotus, 3. 20: Anabasis, 1. 27, and Jahn, *op. cit.* § 130). The idea may have been suggested by the account in Gen. xli. 42 of a similar honour shown to Joseph.

7. b) **Third in rank,** i. e. after Nabonidus and Belshazzar. Probably not "one of the board of three", following chapter vi. 3, although the translation is possible[40]. The old idea was that Daniel was to be second Vizier, the first Vizier being called the "second" after the king[41]. Kautzsch[42], thought that it probably meant after Nabonidus and the queen-mother.

8. **Then came in all the King's wise men, etc.** This is precisely the same idea as in ii. and iv. The heathen astrologers are unable to interpret the mystery and the king is compelled to turn to the Prophet of the true God; cf. above on iv. 9 (6).

10. a) **The queen** here must mean either the chief wife or the mother of the king. It has been stated, however, in *vv.* 2 and 3 that the wives of the king were already present and this fact and the tone of command which the author gives his "queen" in this passage seem to show that he considered her not the wife, but the mother of Belshazzar. That the queen-mother was meant was the opinion of the majority of the older commentators[43].

The queen-dowager was a powerful and important personage in ancient times; cf. 1 Kings xv. 13; 2 Chron. xv. 16. As at present, she ruled during the minority of the king and probably always had an advisory voice in the management of

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[40] Cf. Kranichfeld, pp. 9; 21; Hitzig, p. 81, and more recently Siegfried, Theol. Lit.-Zeit. Jan. 10, 1891; Driver, Introd. p. 460. [41] Cf. Esther x. 3; Hävernick, p. 185; Lengerke, p. 251 etc. [42] Gr. p. 121. [43] For the Queen-Mother, see above p. 43.

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the government. In modern Turkey, as was the case in ancient Egypt, the queen-mother is a weighty factor in political affairs. Among the Hebrews the queen-dowager ranked after the king, but before his wives; cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 15.

In the Assyrian letters the king's greeting to the queen-mother is of the most respectful character. Thus, in the letter translated by Delitzsch, BA. i. 187–188, we find the heading: "word of the king to the queen-mother, my greeting, greeting to the queen-mother".

When the king greets a subject he uses the words "may thy heart be glad", but in the message to the queen-mother such an address would be disrespectful. In spite of the honour accorded by the king to his mother, it is interesting to notice that he never calls her "his Lady", a fact to which Delitzsch has called attention as indicating the evident supremacy of the king. From the tone of the above mentioned letter the king was ready to carry out his mother's behests, but her commands must first have the royal sanction. For other references in the cuneiform inscriptions to the queen-dowager, cf. Delitzsch, *op. cit.* pp. 189; 192.

10. b) **By reason of the words, etc.** Everything was in confusion (see *v.* 9) and the queen entered the hall to ascertain the cause of the uproar.

11. The repetition of the words "thy father" at the end of the verse is not necessarily an anacolouthon (Kautsch, p. 163), but simply for emphasis[44]. The great king did it himself.

13. a) **Art thou that Daniel?** Better "So thou art Daniel", reflectively. If this translation be adopted, there is certainly no contradiction between this verse and the statement in C. viii. 27, that Daniel had already been in the service of

[44] So V.: *"et rex N. pater tuus principem majorum .... pater inquam tuus"*. The well known commentator, Moses Stuart, sometime Theological Professor at Andover, was also of this opinion; see his Daniel, Boston, 1850, on this verse.

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Belshazzar. The king does not say "art thou Daniel?", as if he had never before heard the name, but remarks reflectively "so thou art Daniel". The author certainly did not intend to represent in this address any latent scorn at Daniel's Jewish origin, according to Calvin's strange idea (followed by Hävernick, Dan. p. 194).

13. b) **Whom the king, etc.** The relative pronoun refers to the exiles and not to Daniel directly as the Vulgate has it. *Θ* translates it correctly.

15. The wise men, the astrologers. Simple asyndeton, cf. i. 20; ii. 27. 45. The Syriac version inserts the copula. Hävernick, Dan. p. 194, and Bertholdt, Dan. p. 380, following *Θ*, supposed that the other classes of magicians had been omitted.

17. a) **Let thy gifts be to thyself, etc.** Daniel refuses to accept the promised reward, because he is unwilling to be under any obligation to the dissolute Belshazzar. He had accepted, however, a similar honour from Nebuchadnezzar; see ii. 48.

17. b) **Yet I will read the writing.** The author gives the Prophet time to examine and read the writing during the king's speech. The translators of LXX. thought it necessary to add: "Then Daniel stood before the writing and understood it and spake thus".

18. a) **O King** — really "Thou O King" — a nominative absolute, as in ii. 29.

18. b) Notice the contrast so strongly emphasized in these verses 18–20, between the great Nebuchadnezzar, and his insignificant successor. The point is, that if Nebuchadnezzar, the great king, suffered such punishment for his pride from the Most High, how much more then Belshazzar who has deliberately insulted the God of the Heavens by the profane use of His sacred vessels.

21. And his dwelling was with the wild asses. The translation "wild asses" makes no sense, as no author would

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represent a mortal man taking up his abode with these swiftest denizens of the desert. The text should be changed so as to read "with the herds"[45]. For this legend regarding Nebuchadnezzar, see iv. 25–34 and above, pp. 32 ff.

23. a) **And they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, etc.** Herein lies the chief sin of Belshazzar for which he must suffer the worst possible punishment.

23. b) **Which see not, nor hear, nor know.** Cf. *Ψ* cxxx. 16, 17. "They have mouths, but they speak not, eyes have they, but they see not. They have ears, but they hear not, neither is there any breath in their mouths". Also *Ψ* cxv. 4 ff.

23. c) **Whose are all thy ways.** Cf. Jer. x. 23: "O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself". "Way" here means "destiny".

24. Then. This is correct. So P. *Θ* and V. translate "therefore" which is inexact.

25. a) **Mene mene tekel upharsin.** The first *mene* means "there have been counted"; the second *mene* "a mina"; *tekel* "a shekel"; *upharsin* "and (two) half minas", e. g. *u* "and", and *parsin* "half minas". The correct translation, therefore, is "there have been counted a mina, a shekel and (two) half minas". The mina alludes to Nebuchadnezzar, the shekel, one sixtieth[46] as valuable, points to the insignificant Belshazzar, while the half minas must refer to the double nation, the Medes and Persians, who are to destroy the power of Nebuchadnezzar. The exact interpretation would be: "There

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[45] So J. D. Michaelis, Dan. p. 51. This is actually the reading of an old codex. [46] It is well known that the weight mina contained 60 shekels, this shekel serving also as the smallest gold unit; *i. e.,* a gold shekel weighed one sixtieth of the weight mina. The money mina on the other hand contained only 50 shekels. See Levy, Chaldäisches Wörterbuch, under מנא and compare C. F. Lehmann, in Verhandlungen der physikalischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin, published February, 1890, p. 95, also Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, March, 1889, p. 249; Encycl. Brit. xvii. 631 and Haupt, ASKT. p. 55, 42: *Çibit* 1 *ma-na,* 12 *šiqli-tan,* "the interest of one mina is twelve shekels"; *i. e.,* at 20 per cent.

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have been fixed by fate the reigns of the great king Nebuchadnezzar, the Mina; of the insignificant Belshazzar his wicked successor, the shekel; and the dominion of the Medes and Persians, the half minas, whose combined power is to equal that of Nebuchadnezzar". To stigmatize Belshazzar as far inferior to Nebuchadnezzar is quite in keeping with the whole tone of the chapter.

This use of weights [47] to denote the value of persons is known in the Talmudic writings, where we find occasionally an inferior son of a worthy father called "a half mina son of a mina", while a son superior to his father is spoken of as "a mina son of a half mina", and a son equal to his father as "a mina son of a mina".

It is possible, according to the theory advanced in my Thesis [48], that there is an historical background for this account of the mysterious sentence, although the whole question lies purely in the realm of conjecture. The sentence as it stands may be an Aramaic rendering of a Babylonian proverb, referring to the relative merits of Nebuchadnezzar and the last king of Babylon whom the Maccabæan tradition called Belshazzar. The proverb must of course have been originally in Babylonian, to which language it can easily be reduced (see below philological note). That it appears here in a rather unusual form of Aramaic may be a proof of its ancient character. The sentence may have arisen in Babylonia shortly after the Persian conquest and passed into the Aramaic of that period as a popular saying which our author considered appropriate to his subject and consequently incorporated into his tale of the fall of Babylon. There is no reason to suppose, because the writer does not translate the sentence literally in *vv.* 26–28

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[47] Compare Ta'anith 21ᵇ, מוטב יבא מנה בן פרס אצל מנה בן מנה ואל יבא מנה בן מנה אצל מנה בן פרס: "It is good that a mina son of a half-mina come to a mina son of a mina, but not that a mina son of a mina should come to a mina son of a half-mina", cited by Levy, Chald. Wörterbuch, ii. p. 46. [48] Prince, Mene Mene Teke Upharsin, pp. 5–17.

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that he did not perfectly understand its meaning. These verses following *v.* 25 were evidently intended to be an explanation of the enigma and not a translation. The author must have supposed, however, that the words were written in some unusual way, as he states explicitly in *v.* 8 that the wise men could neither *read,* nor interpret the writing. It is not impossible that there were traditions even as late as the Maccabæan times regarding the ancient Babylonian double system of writing, e. g. the simple phonetic method, where the characters represented syllables, and the more complicated system of ideograms, each of which represented a whole word or idea. A sentence, therefore, could be written in such a way as to puzzle the most expert Babylonian scholar.

On the other hand, some of the Talmudists thought that the words were written according to a cabbalistic alphabet, in which the first letter has the last as its equivalent[49]. It is interesting to note in this connection that a similar cryptographic method of writing involving the interchange of letters was known to the Abyssinians[50]. It is hardly worth while to discuss here the idea advanced by some other Talmudists that the characters of the mysterious sentence were arranged in a sort of table in three lines and were to be read vertically and not horizontally[51]. Thube and others at the end

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[49] See Buxtorf, Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum, col. 248, and Levy, Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch under אאלרן, ארך, יטת. אאלרן, howewer, is due to a process quite different to אתבש. For the opinion that the sentence was a cryptogram compare Pfeiffer, Dubia Vexata, p. 805, and for all these views see Sanhedrim 22[a]. [50] BA. ii. 110. [51] See Ganneau, JA. Ser. viii. 1, p. 88. Some considered the sentence as an anagram; see Levy, under אנם; while two of the older commentators, Menochius and Maldonatus thought that only the initial letters of each word were written. They are quoted by Bertholdt, Daniel, p. 350. Jephet Ibn Ali, the Karaite, held the view that the words were written backward; for example, מנא was arranged as if it were אנם, and that the letters of all the four words were similarly transposed. See Margoliouth's translation, p. 26. Pfeiffer, p. 808, expressed the opinion that the words were written in "Chaldæan" letters which were intricately arranged.

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of the last century [52] held that the writing may have appeared in such unusual characters as to prevent its decipherment by the hierogrammatists; and the Göttingen Professor of Biblical Philology, the late Ernst Bertholdt, suggested that it may have been written in some complicated flourished handwriting [53].

It is possible, of course, that the author of Daniel, when he stated that the writing could not be read by the wise men, may have been thinking of the Babylonian ideographic system, or that he may have had in mind some cryptographic method of writing his own language similar to those just mentioned. It is much more likely, however, that he gave little thought to the detail as to *how* the writing was written. His aim was simply to describe the appearance of a portent; a mysteriously worded sentence written in unintelligible characters which conveyed no idea to the spectators until Daniel showed its application to the situation. The underlying thought seems to be that the power of Antiochus Epiphanes, like that of the wicked and sacrilegious Belshazzar, was fast drawing to a close and that the suffering Israelites should soon be freed from their tyrant.

It is very unlikely that the story of the miraculous appearance of the sentence has any historical background. The author probably used the legend regarding a feast which took place just before the capture of Babylon by the Persians as a basis for the account in the fifth chapter. Thinking that Belshazzar was the last king of Babylon of the ancient line, he applied this story to him and added the episode of the miraculous warning, making use of a proverb perhaps originally Babylonian and incorporating such further details and amplifications as were necessary to bring out his moral. Of these, the profanation of the vessels was, in all likelihood, suggested by the plundering of the Jerusalem Temple alluded

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[52] Cf. Bertholdt, p. 351. [53] Bertholdt, p. 379.

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to 1 Macc. i., while the account of the miracle is simply a variation of the warning visions seen by Nebuchadnezzar, described in i. and iv.

In *vv.* 26–28, only one *mene* is repeated; viz., that meaning "mina", because it was not necessary to repeat the verb "counted", e. g. the first *mene.*

25. b) **Peres. Thy kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians.** *Peres,* the singular of *parsin,* is used intentionally here, to make a direct paronomasia with the word for "Persian"; *paras.* There is clearly a double play on words here with *peres* which is interpreted as meaning "thy kingdom is divided (Aram. *p^erisath*) and given to the Medes and Persians" *(p^erāsîn).*

Ancient history establishes the closest connection between the Medes and Persians [54]. The Greeks frequently applied the common term Medes indifferently to either nation. Thus the conflicts with Darius and his successors were called either *τὰ Μηδικὰ* or *τὰ Περσικὰ*, while the Persian Great King who ruled in Susa was addressed as the "King of the Medes [55]. The Jews also, as is well known, regarded the Medes and Persians as two peoples closely allied in law and customs [56] and indeed, previous to the discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions, no one thought of doubting that the Medes as well as the Persians belonged to the Aryan race [57]. Of late years, however, serious doubt has been cast on the theory regarding the Aryan origin of the Medes by a number of scholars.

Because in the trilingual inscriptions of the Achæmenian kings, between the original Persian and the Babylonian translation, another idiom appears, taking precedence over the Babylonian, certain scholars have believed this to be the

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[54] For the history of the Medes, see above pp. 50 ff. [55] Cf. Rawlinson, Five Great Monarchies ii. p. 306, n. l.; Delattre, Medes, p. 5. [56] Cf. Dan. vi. 8; 12; 15; viii. 20; Esther i. 3; 14; x. 2. [57] It is especially stated by Strabo, xv. 2; 8, that both the Medes and Persians used practically the same language.

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language of Media. This dialect of the second sort which was given such a prominent place in the royal inscriptions must be, it was thought, the idiom of the most important subject people of the Persian Empire, the Babylonian being necessarily excluded. They decided accordingly that it could only be the language of the Medes. Then, when an examination brought to light that it was neither a Semitic nor an Aryan idiom, they concluded that the Medes must have been a "Turanian" people. The principle on which such a supposition rested is, that the choice and disposition of language in the Achæmenian texts depended on the relative importance of the peoples who made up the Persian Empire.

Although it would certainly be natural that the Persian kings should in their trilingual documents give the idiom of the most important subject-state the precedence, it still does not necessarily follow that the second language in these inscriptions is that of Media. It cannot of course be denied that the Medes enjoyed a special prominence in the empire. Indeed, the place which they occupied in the inscriptions next to the Persians, and the fact that Medes are found in the most important and responsible positions seem to point to such a conclusion[58]. Part of their powerful influence may have been due to the sacerdotal caste of the Magi who were probably originally of Median origin. The very fact that the name Mede survived so long as almost a synonym for Persian, certainly seems to show that the individuality of the older people was extremely prominent throughout a long period of the Persian history. Delattre's remark (Medes, p. 18) that these considerations are somewhat weakened by the statement of the Annals 2. 1–4 that Cyrus plundered Ecbatana the Median capital, like an enemy's city, has no special force. Because the Medes by their superior civilization eventually

[58] Cf. Her. i. 156–157; Mazares, a Mede, quelled the revolt of Sardis against Cyrus; i. 162–176, Harpagus, a Mede, carried on the war, etc.

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exercised a strong influence on the Persian people, it does not necessarily follow that Cyrus, probably the first Persian who came into close contact with Median culture, established directly such friendly relations with the conquered people as to abstain from plundering their capital, which had fallen to him by right of war.

The influences of this Median culture, however, probably began to be felt by the rougher Persians very shortly after their subjugation of the Medes. Indeed, it seems very evident that those friendly relations between the two peoples, which lasted with but few interruptions until the Median name disappears from history, were early founded.

While the strong influence of the Medes on the destinies of the Persian empire seems to have been an established fact, the actual province of Media was still very probably not the most important in the empire. Media alone was not even a distinct province, but according to Herodotus, 3. 92, with two neighbouring countries formed a single satrapy, paying annual tribute.

It is contrary to the consensus of the ancient authors, as shown above, to regard the Medes as anything but Aryans and closely allied to the Persians. The statement of Strabo that both Medes and Persians used nearly the same language is confirmed by an examination of the extant Median proper names, nearly all of which are of marked Aryan character[59]. From the nature of these names Meyer concludes quite rightly that the rulers of Media at the end of the eighth century B. C. were of Aryan race.

With regard to the opinion that the Medes were made up of two elements, "Aryan" and "Turanian", I cannot do better than paraphrase as follows the remarks of Weisbach (pp. 21 ff.). According to him, if this theory be accepted, four possibilities present themselves with regard to the language of the Medes.

[59] Her. iii. 444–455 (Rawlinson[2]); also Ed. Meyer, on the names of the Median chiefs cited in Delitzsch' Kossæans, p. 48; Literaturblatt für Or. Philologie (Kuhn) ii. p. 51.

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A. All Medes spoke Aryan.

B. All Medes spoke an Aryan-Turanian mixed language.

C. All Medes spoke "Turanian".

D. The Aryan Medes spoke Aryan, the "Turanians" spoke "Turanian".

In answer to the first two suppositions, it may be stated, that the language of the inscriptions of the second sort is clearly neither Aryan, nor a mixed idiom, for example, like modern Turkish, while the theory that all Medes spoke "Turanian" is made untenable by the statements, referred to above, of the ancient authors who evidently regarded the Median language as Aryan. The fact, too, that the Medes played such an important part in Persian history, and were for such a long time so closely and prominently connected with the latter people, could hardly have been the case had they been a totally distinct "Turanian" race. In the latter instance, while considerable influence might have been exercised by an entirely alien people, such a complete association and identification of interests as appear between the Medes and Persians could hardly have been expected. The tie of a common language must have been present to establish such a close union. As to the last idea, that part of the Medes spoke Aryan and part "Turanian", even if this were so, we would have no right to call the language of the "Turanian" Medes, "Median", as this term was applied by custom to an Aryan speech. To do so, would give rise to a confusion of names similar to that suggested by Weisbach (p. 22). He asserts quite rightly, that to call a "Turanian" language "Median" would be an error like calling the language of the Germans resident in Bohemia, "Bohemian", a term which is only applied to the idiom of the Czechs; the true Bohemians. In addition to this, however, there is no reason for supposing that the language of the Achæmenian inscriptions of the second sort is that of "Turanian" Medes at all.

If, as seems neccessary, the Medes must be regarded as entirely Aryans, to what people then are the non-Aryan non-

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Semitic Achæmenian inscriptions of the second sort to be ascribed? Here M. Delattre seems to have found the key to the solution of the problem.

He advances the theory that, because according to Oppert and Sayce the so-called "Median" of the Achæmenian inscriptions has affinity with the Elamitic or Susian language, the people who used the doubtful idiom of the Persian documents were of Elamitic race. As a number of Persian loan-words, are found in the Achæmenian dialect, he further concluded that the people who spoke it must have been for some time closely connected with Persian influences. The fulfillment of both these conditions he finds in the natives of Anšan, the hereditary state of Cyrus; i. e. he believes that the second Achæmenian language was the Elamitic dialect of Anšan, a theory which certainly deserves consideration, in that the language of Anšan, as the vernacular of the nucleus of the Persian empire, might have ranked directly after Persian and taken the precedence of Babylonian.

As our knowledge of the language of Old Elam, however, does not yet permit a translation of the cuneiform inscriptions in that tongue, it seems impossible at present to make any definite statement concerning Elamitic dialects. Then, too, the fact that the Achæmenian second language and the Elamitic are quite distinct though evidently allied languages heightens the difficulty. In this connection, however, the great difference in time between the Achæmenian inscriptions of the second sort and the ancient documents of Susiana or Elam must not be forgotten. Sayce has found that the inscriptions of Old Elam are to be divided into two groups — the one written in characters closely allied to the Old Babylonian, while the second kind, the inscriptions of Mal-Amîr present a later form which is closely akin to that of the Achæmenian records of the second sort. According to Weisbach, it is possible to demonstrate by a number of examples that this form of the Achæmenian inscriptions, originally derived from

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the Babylonian characters, is a later development from the form found on the monuments of Mal-Amîr. Weisbach refers in this connection to the list of characters given by Sayce in the Transactions of the Sixth International Oriental Congress.

All that can be asserted at present seems to be that the three great languages of the Persian empire were Persian, the idiom of the second sort, and Babylonian. The second language may be a later form of the old Elamitic or Susian, containing a number of Aryan loan-words obtained through long intercourse with Aryan races; i. e. the Medes and Persians This is practically the opinion of Weisbach who calls the doubtful Achæmenian dialect "New Susian" and remarks that this idea agrees excellently with the order in which we find the three idioms in the documents of the Persian Kings,—first, language of Persia; second, that of Susa or Elam, and third, that of Babylonia. As soon as it appears evident that the Achæmenian inscriptions of the second sort need not necessarily be in the language of the Medes, the Aryan race of the latter, in view of the reasons mentioned above, should not be called in question.

In the twenty-eighth verse of the fifth chapter of Daniel the paronomasia on "Persian" may perhaps indicate that the author was not unaware of the dominant position of that people. The idea advanced by Lengerke that he used a play of words on Persian, because he could not pun on the word Mede, is untenable, because a derivative of the stem "to measure"[60], would have answered the purpose admirably. With regard to the question of the precedence accorded by the biblical writer to the older people, it is interesting to notice that the earlier references use the term Medes for both nations. Thus, in Isaiah xiii. 17, in prophesying the doom of Babylon, it is stated, "behold I will stir up the Medes against them", etc., and in Jeremiah li. 11, referring to the same subject, "the Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes".

60 מדד. A derivative like מִדָּה, cf. Kranichfeld, p. 227.

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Throughout the entire book of Daniel, wherever both nations are mentioned, the Medes have the first place, while in the book of Esther, Persia is put before Media, except in chapter x. 2, where an allusion is made to the book of the chronicles of Media and Persia, — perhaps an old record.

The explanation of the gradual decadence of the Median name seems to be, that as the Medes in the course of time amalgamated and became practically identical with their Persian kinsmen, the name Persian came to be used in place of Mede. In fact the latter name seems to have completely disappeared under the Sassanidæ. It was perfectly natural that two closely allied peoples speaking practically the same language and probably intermixing, should end by becoming one, and that the name of the dominant race should prevail.

29. And they clothed Daniel with scarlet. It is possible to translate, "Belshazzar gave orders and they clothed Daniel, etc.", which would mean that the reward was conferred immediately, or, "Belshazzar gave orders to clothe Daniel", which does not necessarily imply that the commands were carried out, but that the death of the king may have prevented the fulfillment of the promise. In view of the frequent co-ordination of sentences in cases where the subordinate character of one clause is apparent, the latter translation seems preferable.

30. In that night was Belshazzar the King of the Chaldæans slain. For the historical value of this statement, see above p. 103.

31. a) **And Darius the Median took the Kingdom.** For full discussion, see above pp. 44 ff. This verse is incorporated wrongly with C. vi in M. and LXX.

31. b) **About three score and two years old.** LXX. translate here "full of days and famous in old age", evidently from quite a different original text[61]. The king's age was given probably in order to indicate the brief duration of the Median power[62].

[61] Cf. Behrmann, p. 108. [62] See Kamphausen, p. 29.

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CHAPTER SIXTH.

The resemblance between this section and C. iii. has already been pointed out (p. 73). The author's aim here, as in iii., is plainly to emphasize the necessity of a strict observance of the worship of Jhvh, in spite of the commands or decrees of any heathen monarch. In vi., however, the writer has gone a step further than in iii., where the Hebrew friends of Daniel were merely required to honour an idol, but not necessarily to abstain from worshipping Jhvh privately. In vi., on the other hand, the royal decree goes forth that no petition shall be addressed during a given period to any being, god or man, save the king, so that even private prayer would be forbidden, by such a command. There can be little doubt that this extraordinary account is simply a bold literary device to represent the hero Daniel in a situation where he must worship the God of his fathers at great danger to himself. Both iii. and vi. are tracts, highly appropriate to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, on the beauty and necessity of faithfulness to Jhvh who never fails to protect His own.

It is highly improbable that there is any historical basis for the account of C. vi., and it is almost useless even to attempt to conjecture, as can be done to a certain extent in C. iii., regarding the sources of the fundamental traditional elements. It has already been shown above that Darius the Mede has no place in history, and, while it is possible that the extraordinary decree demanding practically divine honours for the king may have been suggested by the author's knowledge that the ancient kings of Persia were treated as representatives of the gods, it is very difficult to assert more than this.

The sixth chapter should be divided into four paragraphs, as follows: — The decree, 1–9; Daniel's punishment, 10–17; his miraculous deliverance and the punishment of his enemies, 18–24; the king's recognition of Jhvh's power, 25–28.

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1. **An hundred and twenty princes.** Better "satraps". For full discussion of this statement, see above p. 54.

6. **Assembled together.** Literally "made a tumult"; hence, "swarmed tumultuously before the king". This vivid expression was undoubtedly chosen to show the violent character of Daniel's enemies who had lost all sense of dignity in their unrighteous desire to overthrow the Prophet.

7. a) **All the presidents of the kingdom.** With the exception, of course, of Daniel who was one of them (*v.* 2). The inaccurate statement is not a contradiction of *v.* 2, but is simply a result of the hurried style. The idea is that all of the *Persian* officials wished that the prohibitory decree should be issued.

7. b) **That whosoever shall ask a petition, etc.** That such a decree could ever have been issued even by a king claiming divine honours is most unlikely. The most that such a monarch could hope to effect would be to compel his subjects to include him in their pantheon. He could never have ventured to interdict the simultaneous worship of other divine beings, simply because of the obvious impossibility of enforcing such an order.

7. c) **The den of lions.** Better: "pit of lions". This seems to be a reference to the practice of the later Assyrian and Babylonian kings of keeping lions in preserves for the chase [1]. Such a pit as is described here, however, which could apparently be closed from above like a cistern by a stone, very likely existed only in the author's imagination, as no animals could have lived in it for any length of time. The wild animals for the royal hunt, lions, tigers, wild boars, antelopes, etc. were generally kept in extensive parks constructed especially for the purpose and carefully fenced in [2]. These parks were kept in excellent repair and extended by the later Per-

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[1] See Kaulen, Assyrien u. Babylonien, fig. 17, representing a lion-hunt. [2] Cf. Layard, Nineveh ii. 431.

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sian kings, all of whom were extremely fond of the chase. The Persians called such enclosures "paradises". Occasionally, the lions were kept in portable cages which, when the king wished to hunt, were brought out into the open, where the animals were released by a slave who raised a gate while standing on top of the cage.

8. **Establish the decree and sign the writing.** This should be translated "cause the writing to be written", e. g. the document which set forth the interdict. So *v.* 10 "the writing *and* the interdict"; cf. Jer. xxxvi. 27 "the roll *and* the words"; also, Dan. iv. 10 "a watcher *and* an holy one", in all of which passages the "and" serves to connect synonyms.

10. a) **Now when Daniel knew, etc.** The author makes Daniel deliberately disregard the blasphemous decree, in order to impress upon his readers the necessity of resisting all such attempts to encroach on or forbid the worship of Jhvh.

10. b) **His windows being open in his chamber.** Literally "his upper room". The windows were probably lattices such as are in common use at the present day in the East; cf. 2 Kings i. 2. That they could be drawn aside may be seen from 2 Kings xiii. 17. The author mentions the fact of the windows being open, in order to explain how the officials discovered the Prophet's disobedience.

10. c) **Towards Jerusalem.** The custom of facing Jerusalem while praying very probably originated at the time of the Babylonian exile. The idea, which was also followed by Mohammed until he quarreled with the Jews, was to face the Temple, the centre of the Jewish religious life (see 1 Kings viii. 38; 44; 48). The orientation of many Christian churches and the eastward position, frequently observed during certain parts of the service, are survivals of this early Jewish custom.

10. d) **Kneeled upon his knees.** See 1 Kings viii. 54. The prostrate posture in prayer was also observed, Neh. viii. 6, while in Gen. xxiv. 26, bowing the head is mentioned as a reverent position for worship.

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10. e) **Three times a day.** According to the Jewish traditions the custom of praying thrice during the day originated at the time of the "Great Synagogue"[3]. It is evident from the N. T. that the early Christians used the same practice; cf. Acts x. 9. It is difficult to known, however, just when this custom began. It is alluded to in *Ψ* lv. 18, which probably dates from the time of Jeremiah, and it may have been borrowed from the Persians during the Babylonian exile.

10. f) **As he did aforetime.** Better "inasmuch as he had been wont to do so aforetime". He deliberately disobeyed the decree, because it interfered with his regular pious custom.

11. **Then these men assembled.** Literally "came together tumultuously", as in *v.* 7; probably beneath Daniel's open window, where they could see him at his devotions.

12. **Hast thou not signed a decree?** Better "caused to be written an interdict?" This abrupt address to the king without any preliminary respectful form is introduced purposely to emphasize the violent passion of the officials against Daniel and their evident use of the king as a mere tool. LXX. insert the words "O king Darius"; *Θ* "O king", but no emendation of the sort is necessary.

15. **Know O king, etc.** This is an impudent reminder to the king that he is powerless before his own law.

16. **Thy God .... He will deliver thee.** The king says this to Daniel with affectionate solicitude. The author regarded him merely as an instrument in the hands of his wicked courtiers.

17. a) **The mouth of the den.** See above, p. 124 on *v.* 7.

17. b) **The king sealed it with his own signet.** Every Babylonian of any importance at all carried a seal, generally in the shape of a cylinder, the most ancient form, which was used to stamp their baked-clay documents of all kinds. This almost universal custom was noticed by Herodotus i. 195. In

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[3] Zunz, Die Gottesdienstlichen Verträge; pp. 33; 366.

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cases where a man was too poor to own a seal he made an impression on the damp clay with his thumb. That seals in various forms were used also by the Persians is proved by the existence of many specimens dating from the Sassanian period[4]. Whether the author of Daniel clearly understood the character of a seal which would have been used by a Persian Babylonian king is doubtful. The word which he employs here makes it seem probable that he was thinking of a seal-ring.

18. Instruments of music is probably a wrong translation. It should be "concubines"[5].

24–28. The fate of the slanderers of Daniel is the same swift punishment from Jhvh which overtook Belshazzar and which must sooner or later overtake every blasphemer and opponent of Israel's God. The decree of Darius in *vv.* 25–28 is the parallel of the proclamation of Nebuchadnezzar in iii. 29 after the miraculous deliverance of the three companions from the furnace. The difference is that in iii. 29 Nebuchadnezzar threatens those who refuse to worship Jhvh, while in vi. 25, Darius contents himself with simply commanding his subjects to honour the God of Daniel. Most of the sentences used here have appeared in the earlier chapters.

28. In the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian. This shows conclusively that the author of Daniel had an entirely false idea regarding the fall of Babylon under the Semitic dynasty. He evidently thought that Darius the Mede preceded Cyrus the Persian[6].

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[4] Ancient West-Asian seals are found in cylindrical, conical, circular and rectangular form; cf. Ward, Seal cylinders and other Oriental seals (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Handbook 12). [5] See below, philological note. [6] See above, p. 54.

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CHAPTER SEVENTH.

The seventh chapter begins the second part of the Book, in which the author endeavours to console his readers by means of prophetic visions supposed to have been revealed to Daniel directly, but all having a direct reference to the Maccabæan period. The similarity between the subject matter of C. vii and that of C. ii has already been mentioned above (pp. 9; 64). As both chapters, however, were not written from precisely the same point of view, there are of course some noticeable differences in the treatment of the four empires. These are due merely to the fact that C. ii was written from the historical and C. vii from the apocalyptical point of view. Indeed, the differences between ii. and vii. are those which exist naturally between the first and second part of the Book. In the first six chapters, the author makes all the visions, portents and warnings appear to a heathen monarch who is compelled to turn to the Prophet of Jhvh for a correct interpretation. The narrative is all in the *third* person. In the last six chapters, on the other hand, the visions are seen by the Prophet of Jhvh himself who is made to relate them in the *first* person. The chief point of C. vii is, of course, the rise and overthrow of the "Little Horn" Antiochus Epiphanes, who is represented as the last king of the fourth empire and the bitter enemy of the saints. The author has evidently borrowed extensively from the imagery in Ezekiel, Zechariah and Isaiah, especially in the case of the figurative animals and in his description of the Divine Court of Justice.

There is absolutely no foundation for the theory of Lagarde that this chapter was composed as late as 69 A. D.[1].

The seventh chapter should be divided into four paragraphs, as follows: — The heading, 1; the vision of the four beasts,

[1] GGA. 1891 pp. 497–520.

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2–8; the appearance of the Ancient of Days, 9–14; the explanation, 15–27; the conclusion, 28.

1. a) **In the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon.** The theory has been advanced that this date and that of C. viii. may refer to the reign of Belshazzar as co-regent, but all the allusions to this king in Daniel show that the author considered him to have reigned independently as the son of Nebuchadnezzar (see above, pp. 40 ff.).

These visions of the second part of Daniel were not intended to continue the narratives, so the author drops the chronological order in his dates.

1. b) **Daniel had a dream.** As in C. x., the author begins in the third person after the style of the narrative sections, but immediately makes Daniel speak in the first person (*v.* 2). Cc. vii. ff. are supposed to be the personal diary which Daniel wrote, recording his visions at this period. The statement that Daniel *wrote* the dreams and vision is made only here, but is undoubtedly understood of all the other visions.

1. c) **Visions of his head.** See on ii. 28, p. 68.

2. a) **The four winds of the heaven.** All the winds blow together and create an indescribable turmoil which lashes up the sea and penetrates to the unknown depths, from which emerge four monsters, corresponding in number to the winds. Rev. xiii. 1 is evidently an imitation of this passage. The four winds, of course, represent the four quarters of the heaven; cf. viii. 8; Zech. vi. 5, etc.

2. b) **The great sea** is ordinarily an expression for the Mediterranean, but is undoubtedly used here typically for the world (see *v.* 17). We find a similar metaphor in Is. xvii. 12, where the armies of Sennacherib are referred to as making a noise like the rushing of the sea.

3. Diverse one from another. Because they are symbols of totally distinct empires. The Prophet sees the beasts appear above the surface of the troubled sea. They do not of course come on the land, because the sea in the vision is the

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type of the whole world. The author may have got the idea of beasts as symbols for empires from the similar usage in Ezek. i.; Zech. i.; also in Is. xxvii. 1; Ez. xxix. 3 of the crocodile, and in Is. li. 9 of the hippopotamus[2], as types of the power of Egypt.

4. a) **The first was like a lion and had eagles' wings.** Cf. Ezek. i. 10 ff. This is a very appropriate symbol for the Babylonian power of Nebuchadnezzar. The winged man-faced lion is now familiar to us as the type of strength most affected by the Assyrian kings[3]. It is probable, however, that the author of Daniel knew nothing of this, but constructed his composite symbol on the analogy of Jer. iv. 7; xlix. 19; l. 17, where Nebuchadnezzar is compared to a lion, and Jer. xlix. 22; Hab. i. 8, where the army of the great king is likened to an eagle, evidently because of his extraordinarily swift marches. The Babylonian being the first and least evil power is represented by the best of the beasts of prey, just as it is symbolized by the noblest metal in the parallel vision in C. ii.

4. b) **I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, etc.** The Prophet looked until he saw the wings, the emblems of the brutal swiftness which enabled it to dart down on its prey, taken from the Babylonian lion, and "it was lifted up from the ground and made to stand upon the feet as a man", e. g. made to stand erect like a man; "and a man's heart was given to it", i. e. it received a higher, gentler and more human intelligence in the person of its last great king Nebuchadnezzar. This obscure symbolism seems to cover a reference to the punishment of Nebuchadnezzar recorded in C. iv[4]. Some expositors[5] ignore this comparatively favourable reference to the Babylonian power, overlooking the fact that the author clearly wishes

[2] Wrongly translated "Dragon" in the A. V. The same word is used in Heb. in all the passages above cited, but the translation "hippopotamus" is probable in Is. li. 9. [3] For illustration, see Layard's Nineveh, i. p. 70. See above pp. 6; 70 ff. for the four empires. [4] So, for example, Giesebrecht, GGA. 1895 p. 598. [5] Thus v. Lengerke, Kamphausen and others.

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to emphasize the contrast between the earlier heathen empires and the abominable developement seen in the fourth beast, from which sprang the terrible "Little Horn" of his own time. Nebuchadnezzar's rule is the best of all and is therefore represented by the most attractive symbol[6].

5. Another beast, a second, like to a bear, and it raised up itself[7] on one side, etc. This is the second empire, that of the Medes, which is represented by a bear in a crouching attitude, in order to show that although this people was fierce and mighty, their power never equalled that of the Babylonians. Hävernick thought that this indicated the bear's position of attack, while v. Lengerke understood it to mean that the bear was sitting down in idle sloth. Neither supposition is satisfactory, because they both ignore the element of comparison between the beasts. The Median bear does not stand erect like the Babylonian lion. It had no human intelligence, but was simply a beast of prey "with three ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it". This last expression is very obscure and it seems impossible to interpret it with certainty. It probably refers, however, to the conquests by the Medes of other nations. Their capture and devastation of Nineveh in 606 B. C.[8] would naturally have given them a reputation as a great conquering people, even after the lapse of centuries had obscured the exact nature of their victories. The expression "three" is probably only a round number[9] used to show that they had destroyed several great enemies. There can be no doubt that the author regarded the Medes as a destroying people, because he adds here the words "and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh"[10]. "They" must refer to some angelic voices

[6] See on ii. 37 ff. [7] See below, philological note. [8] See above p. 52. [9] So v. Lengerke. Some critics refer this to three special countries or cities, but this is very doubtful. Not less so are the conjectures of Behrmann, p. 44, who unnecessarily finds glosses in the text; cf. Kamphausen, pp. 30–31. [10] Cf. in this connection the passages prophesying the overthrow of Babylon by the Medes: Is. xiii. 17; Jer. li. 11; 28.

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which Daniel heard sounding over the waters, commanding the bear to fulfill its functions.

This whole passage referring to the Medes is clearly based on the author's idea that they conquered and reigned in Babylon before the Persians which, as shown above p. 53, may be the result of a confusion of traditions regarding the fall of Nineveh at the hands of the Medes and the capture of Babylon by Cyrus.

6. And behold another like a leopard, etc. The four-headed four-winged leopard is the Persian empire, of which the author mentions only four kings (xi. 2) who are evidently symbolized by the four heads, and whose power extended to the four quarters of the heaven represented by the four wings (cf. viii. 4). The Babylonian lion also had wings as a symbol of his swift and far-reaching conquests, but the Persian leopard has a greater number, because his conquests were more extensive. A similar symbolism regarding the Persian power appears in Her. i. 209, where it is stated that Cyrus has a vision, in which he sees Darius Hystaspes with wings on his shoulders. One of these pinions overshadowed Asia and the other Europe.

7. a) **A fourth beast dreadful and terrible, etc.** This fourth beast is, of course, the most important, as it represents the Greek empire in Asia which began with Alexander the Great and continued under the Seleucides. Western historians are accustomed to regard the Asiatic conquests of Alexander as having been civilizing influences which to a great extent brought enlightenment and Greek culture into the far East. While this is undoubtedly true, it must be remembered that for this very reason the victories of Alexander were regarded from an Oriental point of view as a tremendous calamity, because, unlike the other great conquerors, he was not willing to leave the subjugated peoples in their former barbarism, but effected great changes both in customs and government throughout the entire East. His rule, therefore, is appropriately said to be diverse from all kingdoms; *v.* 24. Besides this, neither he nor

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his successors shrank from the most terrible atrocities whenever it was necessary to quell a rebellion. This may be seen from the fearful Tyrian massacres by the troops of Alexander himself, and in later times from the terrible persecutions of the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes. The comparison, therefore, of the entire Greek power to a devouring beast with great iron teeth [11] which tore and killed and "stamped the residue under its feet" is most appropriate.

7. b) **And it had ten horns.** Horns are symbols of haughty power, cf. Ψ lxxv. 5; Am. vi. 13. As is expressly stated in *v.* 24, the ten horns are ten kings and *not* ten empires or kingdoms, as some expositors have supposed [12]. There is a great variety of opinions regarding the interpretation of the ten horns [13]. There can be little doubt, however, that if, as is generally admitted by recent writers, they are symbols of ten Greco-Syrian kings, excluding Antiochus Epiphanes who is the eleventh Little Horn, the list must begin with Alexander. Although it is stated in *v.* 8, that the Little Horn came up *among* the other horns, there can be no doubt that the author intended to convey the idea that the ten horns were *predecessors* of the Little Horn, because in *v.* 24 he makes the Little Horn follow the other ten. The question to be settled then is: Who are these ten predecessors of Antiochus Epiphanes? An examination of the list of Seleucidan kings will show that they can only be [14]: 1. Alexander the Great, 356–323 B. C.; 2. Seleucus I. Nicator, 312–280; 3. Antiochus I. Soter, 280–261; 4. Antiochus II. Theos, 261–246; 5. Seleucus II. Callinicus, 246–226; 6. Seleucus III. Soter, 226–223; 7. Antiochus III. Magnus, 223–187; 8. Seleucus IV. Philopator, 187–175;

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[11] *V.* 19 adds "claws of brass" which Ewald needlessly proposed to insert here. See Bevan, p. 122. [12] So Aben Ezra, for example, who thought that they symbolized ten Mohammedan kingdoms. [13] Bevan, p. 115; Behrmann, p. 46. [14] So Hitzig and Cornill. Behrmann, p. 46, considers that the ten horns do not designate especially any Syrian kings, but are merely a general allusion to all the divided Greek princes as a race.

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9. Heliodorus, the treacherous minister of Seleucus IV. who tried to usurp the throne in 175, after murdering his master, but was soon dispossessed by Antiochus Epiphanes, the brother of Seleucus Philopator; 10. Demetrius Soter, who was really the rightful heir to the throne, as he was the eldest son of Seleucus Philopator. For this reason the author of Daniel makes him a predecessor of Antiochus Epiphanes. Demetrius eventually reigned 162–150, after the death of the feeble Antiochus V. Eupator, 164–162, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes.

8. a) **There came in among them another little horn.** As mentioned above, this king comes *after* the ten. In viii. 8, on the other hand, the Little Horn rises out of one of the larger horns. Antiochus Epiphanes is a *Little Horn,* because, as he was not the rightful successor to the throne, he was not recognized as king at first, but seized that position by treachery to his nephew Demetrius.

The conservative critics who deny that the Little Horn here is Antiochus Epiphanes, but admit that he is the Little Horn of viii. 9 have simply introduced a useless contradiction into the Book. There can be no doubt that vii. 8 and viii. 9 refer to one and the same person.

8. b) **Before whom were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots,** e. g. three kings (*v.* 24). These must be: 1. Seleucus Philopator who was probably murdered by Heliodorus[15]; 2. the usurping Heliodorus himself; 3. Demetrius, afterwards Demetrius Soter, all of whom had to give way before Antiochus Epiphanes[16]. Von Gutschmid[17], however, thinks that the third horn may have been a brother of Demetrius who, according to a fragment of John of Antioch, was slain by order of Antiochus. This is not probable, because this brother would not suit the situation so well among the

[15] App. Syr. 45. [16] So Hitzig and Cornill. For other views, see Bevan, p. 117. [17] Kleine Schriften, ii. pp. 175–179, quoted also Bevan, p. 118.

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ten horns of *v.* 7, as he was not the rightful heir like Demetrius and could, therefore, hardly be ranked among reigning kings. Demetrius was of course king *de jure* immediately after the death of his father Seleucus Philopator, and so might serve as one of the horns. Heliodorus, on the other hand, although not actually a king, had been head of the state for a short time until deposed by Antiochus Epiphanes and could therefore with propriety be classed as a horn.

There is undoubtedly a covert hint here that Antiochus had something to do with the death of his brother Seleucus. This theory has never been historically proved, but, considering the character of Antiochus, it is by no means an improbable supposition that he was in league with Heliodorus who, pretending to aid Antiochus, was really trying to usurp the throne for himself. At any rate, the Jewish author would not shrink from accusing Antiochus of such a crime against his brother, even if it were not definitely proved.

8. c) **Eyes like the eyes of man,** e. g. two human eyes, the symbols of intelligence[18], of which Antiochus Epiphanes had an unusual share. This is admitted even by the author of Daniel; see viii. 23 "a king understanding dark sentences", e. g. deep and intricate intrigues.

8. d) **A mouth speaking great things.** Cf. *vv.* 11; 25; Ψ xii. 3 and Rev. xiii. 5, the latter being plainly an imitation of this passage in Daniel. This undoubtedly refers to the blasphemies against Jhvh uttered and practised by Antiochus Epiphanes; cf. xi. 36.

9. a) **I beheld till the thrones were cast down.** This should be "till the thrones were placed"[19]. The reference seems to be to the thrones for the angelic judges of these empires which are to be summoned to trial before the divine court. A special throne of flame is appropriately reserved for the Greatest Judge.

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[18] Cf. Rev. ix. 7. [19] See below, philological note.

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9. b) **And the Ancient of Days did sit.** Cf. *Ψ* ix. 4. Jhvh is here represented as an aged man, both on account of His character as the Supreme Judge and also in contrast to the "new gods" of the heathen whose worship Antiochus Epiphanes was trying to introduce among the Israelites; cf. Ju. v. 8; Jer. xxiii. 23.

9. c) **White as snow . . . . pure wool.** Snow and wool appear as symbols of purity also in Is. i. 18; *Ψ* li. 7.

9. d) **And his throne was like the fiery flame.** See *Ψ* xviii. 9.

9. e) **And his (scl. its) wheels as burning fire.** A wheeled throne, a sort of Divine Chariot, was probably suggested by Ezek. x. 2; cf. also i. 15; 16.

10. a) **A fiery stream.** For the old Hebrew idea of fire being intimately connected with the person of the Supreme Being, cf. *Ψ* l. 3; xcvii. 3; Is. lxvi. 15; 16. This conception is probably a relic of an earlier sun and fire worship.

10. b) **Thousand thousand ministered unto Him.** Countless hosts of angels surrounded and served the Most High; see above, p. 86.

10. c) **And the judgment was set and the books opened.** The Judges took their seats and the books of record were opened, in which the sins of the Greek kings and especially those of Antiochus Epiphanes had all been duly entered. Bevan cites an interesting passage from the pre-Mohammedan poet Zuhair (p. 123, n. 1.), showing that this idea of divine books of record was known also to the early Arabs: "Hide not from God that which ye devise . . . . it is reserved, laid up in writing and kept in store against the day of reckoning".

11. Because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake, etc. The beast representing the Greek empire is slain and even its remains are utterly destroyed on account of the blasphemies of Antiochus Epiphanes (*v.* 8).

12. a) **They had their dominion taken away.** Better "their dominion had been taken away", e. g. the Babylonian,

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Median and Persian empires had ceased to exist politically, but the people of these countries were not destroyed at once (*v.* 12), but were permitted to exist for a time, apparently in order that they might serve the Son of Man (*v.* 14), e. g. the kingdom of the Israelitish Saints. Herein is the chief difference between vii. and ii., for in ii. 34–35; 44, *all* the empires are destroyed[20]. In vii., the fourth kingdom only is doomed to perish.

Behrmann's idea (p. 47) that the expression "the rest of the beasts" does not refer to the three first beasts in *vv.* 4; 5; 6, but is an indefinite symbolism for the various other kings of Greek descent, introduces a needless confusion into the interpretation. The author referred first to the overthrow of the fourth beast, because it was the most important from his point of view and then tells the fate of the three preceding peoples whose sins had not been as great and shocking as those of the Greek race.

12. b) **For a season and a time.** The period of the existence of these nations is purposely made indefinite, because the author does not pretend to know more than that they shall serve and be humbled before the kingdom of the saints.

13–14. One like the Son of Man. This expression simply means "one like a human being"; cf. viii. 17, where it is applied to Daniel himself. In iii. 25 the parrallel expression "Son of God" means a heavenly being[21]. "Son of Man" seems to be used here as a symbol for the last kingdom of the Israelitish Saints which shall rule over "all peoples, nations and races" after the overthrow of the governments typified by the four beasts. The author evidently intended to draw a contrast between the earlier cruel, bestial kingdoms which arose "out of the sea", *v.* 3, e. g. from this world, and the final human kingdom of the saints which had its origin in the clouds of heaven (e. g. by divine appointment), and which was established to

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[20] See above, pp. 69; 71. [21] Cf. p. 81.

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have dominion over the whole world with the sanction of the Ancient of Days, the only true God Who had existed from all time. It cannot be shown from the context of this chapter that the author meant by the Son of Man a special personal Messiah-king, because, while the Son of Man is spoken of as a personal ruler in *v.* 14, which would seem to support such a theory, His personality and dominion are explained in *vv.* 18; 22; 27 as being identical with that of "the Saints of the Most High who shall take the kingdom". In other words, the writer must have intended to imply the idea of a personal type, a personification of the Israelitish chosen ones who were to rule over the Gentiles. In no part of the Book[22] is a personal Saviour-king prophesied, but always the ultimate domination of the ideal, eternal kingdom of the Saints.

Dr. Briggs, however, in his Messianic Prophecy, p. 420, considers that because the Son of Man is brought chiefly into contrast with the Little Horn, if the Little Horn be an individual as is generally admitted, the Son of Man must also be an individual and therefore the Messiah himself[23]. This conclusion is unsatisfactory, because it is nowhere stated in C. vii. that the Little Horn fought with the Son of Man personally, but *with the Saints* (*v.* 21) who appear throughout the entire chapter as synonymous with the Son of Man.

The accepted Christian explanation that this passage is a prophecy referring to the coming of Jesus as a personal Messiah is not disturbed by such a view. We know now that the whole idea regarding the Messianic functions of Israel was a foreshadowing of the life and work of Our Saviour, and that this thought culminates in Him and His Teachings. It cannot be asserted, however, that the prophets who originated this con-

[22] Cf. ii. 44; xii. 3. So most recent expositors. The idea that "the Son of Man" does not refer to a personal Messiah was well known to many Jewish commentators, among them Aben Ezra and Ephraem Syrus. Cf. Stanton, The Jewish and Christian Messiah, 1886 (quoted also Bevan, p. 119). [23] So also Behrmann, p. 48.

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ception had any such outcome in mind. They undoubtedly thought of a purely temporal fulfillment of their idea, e. g. that some day, after her period of chastisement and tribulation was over, Israel as a people should rise purified and perfect before Jhvh to take the lead in mundane affairs and rule over the other less favoured nations, to whom the Divine Light had not been vouchsafed. There can be little doubt that the author of Daniel had this consolatory thought in mind when he wrote the prophecies in C. vii. He seems to take no account of a personal Messiah such as we find in the Deutero-Isaiah.

The more liberal minded of the later Hebrew writers, however, approached still nearer the sublime truth. Thus, the author of Jonah especially saw that Israel had no right to regard Jhvh as her own personal property, but that He was equally a God for all who would receive Him. It remained for Our Lord to show the Jewish people that they had only been stewards of Jhvh's mysteries and not, as they had fondly hoped, the nation which was to rule over all the world as His earthly Viceroys. They were simply chosen as the vessel to preserve the truth for the benefit of the world at large, until the time was ripe for its general revelation. In reading every Messianic prophecy, therefore, the student should always bear in mind the distinction between the limited view of the Prophet and the ultimate glorious fullfillment of the predictions in the Person of Jesus.

16. Unto one of them that stood by, e. g. to one of the angels who surrounded the Prophet during his vision.

17. Four Kings means here "four kingdoms"; cf. viii. 20.

18. The Saints of the Most High. So LXX. and Θ. Literally "the most high saints".

19. Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast. The fourth beast, which has a direct bearing on the author's own time is, of course the most important and therefore has the longest description devoted to it.

20. Whose look was more stout than his fellows. Literally "whose appearance was greater than that of its

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fellows". Although the horn was "little" at first, it had become greater as Antiochus increased in power and was certainly of more importance for the Jewish readers of Daniel than any of the others. Hitzig, p. 119, sees here a covert allusion to the epithet of Antiochus IV: *Epiphanes* "renowned".

21. Made war with the Saints. This verse and *v.* 25 are a plain allusion to the Jewish persecution under Antiochus; see on *vv.* 13–14.

22. Judgment was given, e. g. justice was finally given to the persecuted Israelites. Ewald changes the text and translates "and judgment sat and the power was given". See Kamphausen, p. 32 for a discussion of this emendation.

25. a) **To change times and laws.** He tried to alter by force the Jewish religious customs.

25. b) **A time and times and the dividing of time.** Literally "a time and times and half a time", e. g. probably for three years and a half, beginning with the abolition of the daily sacrifice; see also xii. 7. The persecution of the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes is thought to have lasted from Dec. 168 until 165, probably a little over three years[24].

27. This is the culmination of the chapter, e. g. the triumph of "the Saints" and their ideal Messianic kingdom, of which Jhvh shall be the Ruler and to which all nations shall be tributary. The whole world shall be humiliated before Israel, the Viceroy of the Most High.

28. But I kept the matter in my heart. This sentence is simply a device to explain to the reader why the prophecy was not made public directly after Daniel saw it, but was reserved until the time of the author of the Book. A similar device occurs in Luke, ii. 19 "But Mary kept all these things and pondered them in her heart".

[24] So Schürer, i. 155 ff. According to 1 Macc. iv. 52 the re-consecration of the Temple took place exactly three years after its profanation during the Antiochan persecution.

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CHAPTER EIGHTH.

In C. viii. the language becomes once more Hebrew[1].

In this section, as in C. vii., we find symbolical animals used to denote empires, only here the author ignores utterly the first power of Babylonia and, combining Media and Persia in one emblem, proceeds at once to the Medo-Persian and Greek dominions. The eighth chapter must be regarded as a complement to C. vii., where the three first empires are mentioned in detail, in order to form a contrast to the terrible fourth power of the Greek invaders. In viii., however, the author leads up at once to the Greeks and treats of them exclusively, merely alluding in a preliminary way to the overthrow of the Persian Ram by the attacks of Alexander. Antiochus Epiphanes appears here, as in C. vii., as a Little Horn, the blasphemous acts of which are set forth in clear and unmistakable language.

The author's chief aim in C. viii. is undoubtedly to explain to his people that the power of Antiochus to vex the saints of Israel was really given him from above and that Jhvh was not ignorant of the wicked king's act in stopping the daily sacrifice and desecrating the Holy of Holies. The underlying idea, which, it is true, is nowhere definitely expressed, but is none the less apparent to one who reads understandingly, seems to be that these indignities and insults to Israel were intended to serve as a chastisement for her and to lead eventually to a new and more intense religious life. Antiochus, therefore, was merely an instrument, a wicked king permitted by Jhvh to have his way for a time. This seems to be the reason why a definite limit is fixed in this chapter for the duration of the heathen king's power over the Temple worship, e. g. 1150 days, after which period the regular daily sacrifice was to be restored and Temple cleansed.

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[1] See above pp. 11—13.

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The difficulties of interpreting this strange prophecy will be discussed below.

C. viii. should be divided into seven paragraphs: — The heading, 1–2; the Ram and the Goat, 3–8; the Little Horn, 9–12; the prophecy of the duration of the vision, 13–14; the appearance of the Angel, 15–18; the explanation, 19–26; the conclusion, 27.

1. a) **In the third year of king Belshazzar.** See above p. 129 on vii. 1.

1. b) **After that which appeared unto me at the first.** This of course refers to the vision described in C. vii.

2. a) **Shushan in the palace which is in the province of Elam.** Literally: "Shushan of the castle", e. g. Shushan of the royal palace, the capital city; cf. Esther i. 5; ii. 5, etc., and Neh. i. 1[2]. Susa (the modern Shuster) or Shushan on the west bank of the Eulaeus[3] (Ulai) was originally the capital of the Elamitic kingdom[4]. It was afterwards the chief city of the Achæmenian Persian kings before their conquest of Babylon and on this account seems to have been regarded by the later Jewish writers as the central Persian capital. The province of Elam had probably the limits of the original kingdom of that name which comprised the mountainous districts to the North and East of Susa. In Babylonian, the name was probably understood to mean "Highlands". The term came to be used later, however, as a synonym of Persia; thus, the Elymais of Josephus and others and the Elamites of Acts ii. 9. It is very likely that this whole passage in Daniel is modeled on Esther and Nehemiah.

2. b) **By the river of Ulai,** e. g. the Eulaeus; Assyr. *Ulâ*. This is in all probability the modern *Karun*, as Delitzsch[5] and Spiegel[6] have suggested, but Kiepert[7] following Herodotus identifies it with the Karcha (Choaspes). Spiegel's theory re-

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[2] See Billerbeck, Susa, 1893. [3] So Pliny and Arrian, but Her. i. 188 states that it was on the Choaspes. [4] See Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 326. [5] *Op. cit.* pp. 177 ff. [6] Eran. Alterthumskunde ii. p. 626. [7] Nouvelle Carte générale des Provinces de l'Empire Ottoman.

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conciling the confusing statements of the ancients regarding the site of Susa is perhaps the most satisfactory. He suggested that the ancient city really lay on a network of canals connecting both the Karun and the Karcha and that consequently it could be said to be on either river.

3. **A ram which had two horns, etc.** This is fully explained in *v.* 20 as representing the kings of Media and Persia. The Hebrew word "ram" is used in several passages in the sense of "leader, chief"; thus, of the princes of the Moabites, Ex. xv. 15; also 2 Kings xxiv. 15; Is. xiv. 9; Zech. x. 3. Furthermore, in Ezek. xxxix. 18, rams, lambs, goats and bullocks are co-ordinated with princes, so that the word not infrequently appears as a symbol of power. The author recognizes the unity of the Medes and Persians as a nation and so uses here only one symbol. In C. vii., however, he distinguishes, between them, because he was proceeding from a different point of view, showing the historical succession of the powers. In C. viii., on the other hand, there is no necessity for his going back to the time when Media was a separate empire before the rise of the Persians, so he begins with the Medo-Persian kingdom after the political incorporation of the Medes as one nation with the Persians.

For the sake of historical accuracy, however, he recognizes the fact that Media had once had a distinct existence and indicates this by the two horns of unequal length, of which the first is the Median dynasty and the higher one, which came up last, is of course the Persian dominion. This shows sufficiently for his purpose the political difference between the two[8].

4. a) **I saw the ram pushing westward and northward and southward.** The extent of the Persian empire is described by Her. iii. 89–96. The Ram does not push towards the East, because the writer probably regarded this quarter

[8] Theodotion wrongly considers that the two horns represent the double line of Achæmenians; viz., the shorter one that of Cyrus and the longer one, that of Darius Hystaspes.

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as being too unimportant and distant for him to mention. His ideas, if he had any, about the eastern limits of the Persian empire must have been very vague. He accordingly mentions only that part of the Persian dominion which he knew from his own traditions. The translators of the LXX. did not understand this and therefore wrongly inserted the word "eastward".

4. b) **Became great.** Better: "did great things"[9].

5. a) **An he-goat came from the west.** This is explained *v.* 21 as "the king of Grecia", e. g. Alexander the Great. It seems more accurate to consider the Goat as the symbol of the Greek empire, because the Great Horn is the special symbol of Alexander.

5. b) **On the face of the whole earth.** Alexander conquered all the known world. Hitzig, p. 129, compares 1 Macc. i. 3, where it is stated that Alexander went through to the ends of the earth.

5. c) **And touched not the ground,** e. g. went so fast that hes eemed to fly. This is plainly an allusion to the lightning-like rapidity of the Greek marches. The same idea is seen in Is. xli. 3: "by the way that he had not gone with his feet", a reference to the similar rapid conquests of Cyrus[10].

5. a) **A notable horn between his eyes.** Better: "a conspicuous horn"; viz., the Great Horn of *vv.* 8 and 21. This is the emblem of Alexander himself. The great conqueror was commonly called by the Arabs "he of the two horns", which is probably an accidental coincidence[11].

In *vv.* 6–7 we have a vivid description of the Persian conquests of Alexander.

7. **And stamped upon him.** As in vii. 7, the Greek power is represented as stamping out utterly all that preceded it.

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[9] So Ewald, Behrmann and Bevan. [10] Not: "a way which he was not accustomed to tread with his feet", Delitzsch, Jes.[4] p. 422. [11] Cf. *Kalila wa Dimna,* Beyrouth ed. p. 12; quoting from Qorân, 18, 82 ff.

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8. **The great horn was broken, etc.** Alexander died and his kingdom was divided among his generals. It does not seem probable that we have here an actual historical description of the division, although some expositors consider that the four horns typify Ptolemy of Egypt on the South, Seleucus of Asia on the East, Cassander of Macedon on the West and Lysimachus of Thrace on the North[12]. It is highly unlikely that the author of Daniel had any such accurate knowledge of the situation. He may merely have meant to indicate vaguely that the power of Alexander had been divided in every quarter. This seems to be the significance of the expression "towards the four winds of heaven". If, however, it be supposed that the author had any exact idea of the kingdoms, we must believe from C. xi. that he considered Syria the northernmost. In this case, his four empires would be Syria on the North, Egypt on the South, Parthia on the East and Macedon on the West.

9. a) **And out of one of them came forth a little horn.** Better "another Little Horn"; see below philological note. This is undoubtedly the same person as the Little Horn in vii. 8; Antiochus Epiphanes. In C. vii, however, he is represented with more attention to historical accuracy as coming up after the ten horns of his own dynasty, whereas here, the author merely indicates generally that he was a product of the Great Horn and the Goat, e. g. a member of the Greek nation. There is no contradiction between this passage and vii. 8.

9. b) **Towards the South and towards the East and towards the pleasant land.** Better "the Glory". He was able to turn his power towards Egypt (xi. 5; 25; 1 Macc. i. 18), towards Persia (1 Macc. iii. 31) and, most important of all, towards Jerusalem the seat of the Holy Temple. The orthodox critics, who admit very generally the identity of the Little Horn of C. viii. with Antiochus, are unable to explain how

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[12] So Porphyry in Jerome vii. 7.

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a prophet living in Susa can refer to Persia as the East. This expression of course betrays the Syrian authorship of the Book.

The use of the term "Glory" for the Holy City is quite in accord with the general tone of C. vii., where the Israelitish people are called "the Saints of the Most High". In Jer. iii. 19, Zech. vii. 14 and various other passages, the Holy Land is called "the Glorious Country". The attempts of Antiochus against Jerusalem are described 1 Macc. i. 20 ff.

10. a) **Even to the host of heaven.** Antiochus by his desecration of the Sanctuary ventured to attack even the power of Jhvh Himself. "The host of heaven", e. g. the stars, here seems to refer to the heavenly people of Israel who are conceived of in these idealistic chapters as a divinely appointed angel-nation. This interpretation seems clear from the subsequent passages *vv.* 11; 24. The idea is the same as that in Isaiah xiv. 13, where the haughty king of Babylon is represented as ascending into heaven and "exalting his throne above the stars of God", thinking that he could subdue the people of Jhvh and suppress their worship of Him. Indeed, this passage in Daniel may have been suggested by Is. xiv.

10. b) **And it cast down some of the host of the stars to the ground and stamped on them.** Many of the Jews were tortured by the orders of Antiochus to force them to consent to his idolatrous abominations; cf. 1 Macc. i. 44 ff. "The stars" seems to be used here simply in explanation of the word "host"[13].

11. a) For the discussion of the text and an emended translation of *vv.* 11–12, see below, philological note.

Even unto the Prince of the host. This can only refer to the great Prince of the people of Israel, Jhvh Himself, Who is referred to in *v.* 25 as "the Prince of princes" and Is. vi. 5 as "the King, Jhvh of Hosts". That this passage is a reference

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[13] So correctly Hitzig, p. 131. See on this passage viii. 9–14 and Moore, Journal of Biblical Lit. xv. pp. 193–7, whose interesting interpretation I am unable to accept.

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to the deposition and murder by Antiochus Epiphanes of Onias III. the High Priest, according to Bevan, p. 132, is very uncertain, because the High Priest would hardly be called "the Prince of princes" in the explanatory verse 25. The allusion in xi. 22 to "the Prince of the Covenant", on the other hand, may really be a reference to Onias.

11. b) **And by him the daily sacrifice was taken away and the place of the Sanctuary was cast down.** Better "from Him", e. g. from Jhvh [14]. For the daily offering, cf. Dt. xxviii. 3 ff., and for the desecration of the Temple by Antiochus, see 1 Macc. i. 44 ff.

12. And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression. Translate "and its host (the Horn's) was laid as a punishment upon the daily sacrifice"; viz., a punishment for Israel's former sins against Jhvh. The agents of Antiochus certainly "cast down the truth to the ground" when they polluted the Holy of Holies. This sacrilege was permitted by Jhvh as a chastisement and humiliation for His people. The Horn, therefore, "practised and prospered" with divine permission.

13. a) **And I heard one saint speaking, etc.** This is the same idea as in iv. 14, where the angel announces the exact nature of the decree, but the author here makes both question and explanatory statement come from the divine beings. Daniel is merely the mouth-piece who repeats what he has heard. It is quite possible that this dialogue between angels was suggested by Zech. i. 14 [15].

13. b) **How long shall be the vision?** How long is the state of affairs prophesied by the vision to last?

13. c) **And the transgression of desolation, etc.** For an attempted emendation and revised translation of this difficult and corrupt text, see below, philological note. As there indicated, the translation should perhaps be: "For how long is the vision

[14] See below, philological note. [15] So also Bevan, p. 134.

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of the daily offering and of the devastating transgression?" i. e. when may the oppressed Israelites expect permission to renew the interrupted worship of Jhvh and how long is the "devastating" transgression of the wicked king to last? There is probably a double allusion here to their own transgressions which, as stated in *v.* 12, were the cause of this punishment, and also to the sinful act of Antiochus Epiphanes in defiling the Holy Place, which is described in xi. 31 as an abomination. That this word "transgression" in *vv.* 12–13 refers *only* to the iniquity of Antiochus is by no means certain. Its occurrence with a double application in *v.* 13 would be parallel to the similar use of "host" in 11–12.

14. a) **And he said unto me.** Better "unto him", following LXX., *Θ* and P. Daniel takes no part in the dialogue.

14. b) **Unto two thousand and three hundred days.** Literally "evenings (and) mornings"; viz.; 1150 days. This seems to be an allusion to the period spoken of in vii. 25 as "a time and times and half a time", which referred to the duration of Antiochus' persecution which lasted a little over three years[16]. Some expositors, however, following LXX., interpret this to mean 2300 full days, e. g. 1150 evenings and 1150 mornings, but the separation of the words "evening" and "morning" in the explanatory *v.* 26 seems to preclude this rendering. As Bevan points out[17], the passage most probably refers to the morning and evening sacrifice[18]. There are to be 2300 omissions of the daily offering extending over 1150 full days.

14. c) **Then shall the Sanctuary be cleansed.** Literally: "be justified". It shall be considered righteous and entered once more by the Divine Presence. After this period of pollution Jhvh will again accept the Sanctuary as His earthly abode. It is highly likely that at the time when this was written the persecution had not yet ceased.

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[16] So Cornill, Theol. Studien und Skizzen aus Ostpreussen ii. pp. 22 ff.
[17] p. 136. [18] Ex. xxix. 41; Dan. ix. 21.

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15. **There stood before me as the appearance of a man.** Daniel again sees an angel, whom, however, in this passage he does not question, as he did in vii. 16. The divine messenger is commanded here by a mysterious voice to explain the vision to the Prophet.

16. a) **Between (the banks of) the Ulai,** e. g. standing *on* the water; cf. xii. 6.

16. b) **Gabriel.** This is the first occurrence of an angel's name in the O. T. In x. 13; 21, the name Michael is also mentioned. In the older Hebrew literature, however, the names of angels were never communicated to man; cf. Gen. xxxii. 29, the refusal of the angel to tell his name to Jacob, and Ju. xiii. 18, a similar case with Manoah. In the very late writings such as Tobit and Enoch, and also in the Talmud, there is a well developed system of angelology with an extensive list of names[19]. Michael and Gabriel were regarded as the highest in rank in the heavenly hierarchy, the former as stated in Dan. xii. 1 being the Prince of the angels[20]. Of the other names, the most important are Raphael (Tobit iii. 17) and Uriel (4 Ezra *v*. 20)[21].

17. a) Daniel is a "son of man"[22] in contradistinction to the supernatural character of Gabriel.

17. b) **At the time of the end shall be the vision.** Better "the vision is for the time of the end". In such a context this expression can only mean the end of the power of Antiochus, after whom the kingdom of the Saints (viii. 26–7) shall be established.

18. a) **I fell upon my face,** e. g. in awe at the supernatural presence; cf. the similar act of Manoah and his wife before an angel, Ju. xiii. 20.

18. b) **I was in a deep sleep.** More correctly "in a faint" as in x. 9. Daniel after falling on his face had swooned at the sound of the angel's voice.

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[19] Cf. Enoch vi. 7; xx. xl. 9. [20] Weber, System, pp. 162 ff. [21] Cf. in this connection Behrmann, p. 56. [22] See above, p. 137.

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19. a) **At the last end of the indignation.** When the period of wrath is over; after the time of Israel's persecution is past; cf. xi. 36.

19. b) **For at the time appointed the end shall be.** Better "for the time of the end (the vision is)", supplying the last three words from *v.* 17.

20. Here follows the detailed explanation as in vii. 16 ff. See on *vv.* 3–4.

The kings of Media and Persia. "Kings" is used here as in vii. 17 in the sense of "empires".

21. **The first king;** of course, Alexander the Great.

22. a) **Four stood for it.** See above p. 145 on *v.* 8.

22. b) **But not in his power.** These kingdoms[23] were no longer under the authority of Alexander's personal house. There is no reason for cancelling these words with Behrmann, p. 57.

23. a) **And in the latter time of their kingdom;** towards the end of their rule. The belief that the end of the existing order of things was near has ever been a characteristic of times of extreme religious excitement.

23. b) **A king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences.** For the expression "fierce countenance", cf. Deut. xxviii. 50. This king, who "understood difficult matters", e. g. had unusual skill in intrigue, was of course Antiochus, whose double dealings are alluded to also *v.* 25; cf. 1 Macc. i. 30.

24. a) **But not by his own power.** The power of the wicked king exists by divine permission. Antiochus was a chastening instrument in the hands of Jhvh. There is no reason to regard this phrase as an interpolation from *v.* 22[24].

24. b) **And he shall destroy wonderfully, etc.** His reign shall be generally characterized by destruction, the special features of which shall be the attempt to destroy the Holy People.

24. c) **And shall destroy the mighty and the holy people.** "Mighty" here should be rendered "many" and the whole

[23] See above on v. 8, p. 145. [24] So Kautzch-Marti; cf. Kamphausen p. 34.

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passage translated "he shall destroy many; namely, the holy people". This last allusion looks forward to *v.* 25[25].

25. a) **And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper his hand.** Better "by his hand". This is a reference to the intrigues mentioned in *v.* 23.

25. b) **And by peace he shall destroy many.** Translate "unawares he shall destroy many". This is plainly a reference to his sudden treacherous attack on Jerusalem, in which many of the Jews perished; 1 Macc. i. 30.

25. c) **The Prince of princes** is undoubtedly Jhvh Who is called "Lord of lords" Ψ cxxxvi. 3; Dt. x. 17, and in Dan. ii. 47 "a Lord of kings". See above on *vv.* 10–11.

25. d) **Without hand,** e. g. without human interference; cf. on ii. 34, p. 69.

26. a) **Shut thou up the vision;** viz., keep the vision secret, as in xii. 4; cf. also vii. 28. This injunction is characteristic of the apocalyptic style. It is a device to explain why the vision was not made known until the author's own time.

26. b) **For many days.** The vision is not to be fulfilled until after many days.

27. But none understood it. This, if correct, would seem to imply that Daniel told the vision to others, in contradiction to *v.* 26. It should be rendered, however, "and I did not understand it".

CHAPTER NINTH.

The interpretation of this chapter, the chief point of which is of course the record of the vision of the seventy weeks, cannot be separated from that of the preceding sections. As mentioned above, however, C. ix. differs from vii. and viii. in that there is here no metaphorical vision of symbolical animals intended to serve as types of empires or kingdoms, but simply

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[25] See below, philological note for the views of Grätz and Bevan.

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a penitential prayer for Israel uttered by Daniel who is impelled thereto by the prophecy in Jer. xxv. 11–12. This petition is answered in direct language by the divine messenger Gabriel. The angel prophesies to the Seer that there is to be a period of seventy weeks, during which Israel shall make atonement for her iniquity by suffering both the loss of her Anointed One and her Holy City and Sanctuary, in which the daily offering to Jhvh shall cease and an abomination be set up in its place. The end of all is quite in accord with the tone of the Book, for we read here again that the blasphemous king shall eventually be overthrown by the divine decree.

The chapter should be divided into five paragraphs, as follows: — The Prophet's determination to pray for Israel, 1–3; the confession, 4–14; the petition for a deliverance from the punishment, 15–19; the appearance of Gabriel, 20–23; the announcement of the seventy weeks, 24–27.

1. a) **Darius the son of Ahasuerus.** See above p. 55 on Darius the Mede.

1. b) **The realm of the Chaldæans.** Cf. iii. 8; v. 30 and see pp. 59–60 on i. 4.

2. a) **Understood by books.** Translate "by the Scriptures". It is useless to attempt to conjecture the exact meaning of this expression. It is in all probability in this passage simply a general term especially denoting the Book of Jeremiah, where Daniel had seen the allusion to the seventy years of desolation for Jerusalem, and which, being of course part of the Scriptural Canon in the Maccabæan time, could be thus designated without ambiguity. There is no necessity for supposing that the Scriptures mentioned here refer to some other part of the Canon than Jeremiah, f. ex. the Pentateuch, as Bevan needlessly conjectures (p. 149). The author meant to make the Prophet say: "I Daniel perceived in the Scriptures the number of the years whereof the word of Jhvh came to Jeremiah, etc.", e. g. he saw in the Scriptures that there actu-

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ally was such a definite time of seventy years appointed and announced by divine revelation to Jeremiah, and he accordingly prayed to Jhvh for Israel. "Understood" here does not necessarily mean "sought to understand" (v. Lengerke) nor "marked in the Scriptures the number" (Hitzig).

2. b) **The word of Jeremiah the Prophet.** This can only refer to Jer. xxv. 11–12, the prophecy regarding the duration of the Babylonian Captivity. As Daniel is represented as a Babylonian Seer, the author no doubt regarded this prediction of Jeremiah concerning the captivity of Israel in Babylon as a peculiarly appropriate prophecy for his hero's consideration.

2. c) **That he would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem.** Literally "the number of the years whereof the word of Jhvh came to Jeremiah the Prophet to fulfill the destruction of Jerusalem, namely seventy years".

3. a) **I set my face unto the Lord God.** Daniel turned towards the Temple as in vi. 11.

3. b) **To seek by prayer and supplication, etc.** Better "to seek (to apply myself to) prayer and supplication by means of fasting, sackcloth and ashes". He prepared himself in the usual way[1] for a divine revelation regarding the fate of Israel.

4–6. **And made my confession.** Daniel freely confesses the sins of Israel and admits the justness of their punishment. A number of expositors[2] have called attention to the striking resemblance between this prayer and the similar petition in Neh. i. 5ff.; ix. 6ff. and Baruch i. 15ff. While it is possible that it was especially these Nehemiah-Baruch prayers which suggested this one in Dan. ix., it is equally permissible to suppose that the author of Daniel was really not copying from any one passage, but was simply making use of commonly accepted devotional and penitential *formulæ*[3], such as for ex. "keeping the covenant and mercy to them that love him"; cf. Ex. xx. 6; "we have sinned and committed iniquity", Ψ cvi. 6;

[1] See p. 61 on i. 8. [2] So Hitzig, p. 147; Bevan, p. 150. See his comparison of passages note 1. [3] So also Bevan.

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"neither have we hearkened unto thy servants the Prophets", 2 Chr. xxxvi. 15–6, etc.

There is absolutely no necessity for supposing with v. Gall, pp. 123–6, that this entire passage is an interpolation like LXX. iii. 25ff. and LXX. iii. 52–90. That the prayer is merely a combination of set liturgical *formulæ* is quite evident, but its presence is none the less necessary for the climax of the chapter in *vv.* 21–27.

7. **All Israel that are near and that are far off,** e. g. those of the Jews who were in Palestine and those who were in foreign countries; cf. Jer. xxiv. 8–9; xl. 11. All Israel, wheresoever her children may be, has richly deserved her chastisement.

8. **To our kings.** As may be seen from the context both here and in *v.* 6, this clearly points back to the early Jewish history and does not at all imply the existence of a Hebrew king contemporary with the writer. It is interesting to notice at this point that there is no utterance in this prayer which is not just as appropriate to the Maccabæan period as to the supposed time of Daniel.

Verses 8–10 are really a repetition in a slightly different order of the ideas set forth in *vv.* 5–7.

11. **The curse is poured out upon us and the oath that is written in the law of Moses.** The "curse" the proclamation of evil upon Israel and the "oath" is the record of the divine intention to carry out the curse. The curse mentioned here as being written in the Pentateuch is probably the long curse against the nation in case they refuse to accept the law of Jhvh which is recorded in Deut. xxviii. 15-45; Lev. xxvi. 14 ff.

12. a) **And he confirmed his words,** e. g. brought them to pass. It is thought by some commentators that this verse is a literal translation of Baruch ii. 1 ff.[4]

12. b) **Against our judges.** "Judges" here simply means

[4] So f. ex. Ewald, Behrmann, etc.

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"kings" or "rulers" in a general sense; the same who were mentioned in *vv.* 6; 8; cf. *Ψ* ii. 10; Mi. iv. 14.

12. c) **Under the whole heaven hath not been done as hath been done at Jerusalem.** Such indignities had never been heaped upon the Sanctuary; such frightful abominations had never been done in the Holy City even in the days of Nebuchadnezzar. The author applies all the worse features of the curse to his own time when the Antiochan persecutions were actually going on, and when the prophecy of evil seemed to culminate; cf. 1 Macc. i.; ii.

13. a) **All this evil,** e. g. all the evil prophesied in the Pentateuch.

13. b) **Yet made we not our prayer before the Lord.** Better "Yet have we not softened the countenance of Jhvh", i. e. they had not propitiated Him; cf. Job xi. 19; *Ψ* xlv. 13.

13. c) **And understand thy truth.** Better "gain insight into thy truth", e. g. discover the true revelation of salvation, as in *Ψ* xix. 9; *Ψ* xxxi. 5. Others translate "faithfulness" and interpret it to mean the realization that God fulfills His threats[5]. Others again suggest the translation "to become wise through Thy truth"[6]; viz., through Jhvh's steadfast observance of his threatened punishments.

14. Therefore hath the Lord watched upon the evil. Jhvh has never ceased to remember the punishment which He threatened in case of Israel's disobedience. He has kept the punishment, which is really His own justification, constantly in mind. The word "watch" is used in precisely the same sense, Jer. i. 12; not "hasten" as in the A. V.; also Pr. viii. 34.

15. a) **Thou hast brought forth thy people out of the land of Egypt.** This is a common allusion which served both to illustrate Jhvh's power and to encourage the people; cf. Ex. xiii. 9; Jer. xxxii. 21.

15. b) **Gotten thee renown as at this day.** Literally "Hast made for Thyself a name even for this day". Jhvh's fame in

[5] So Hitzig. [6] So v. Lengerke.

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saving Israel so marvellously had never died out of the popular mind and was still alive at the time of the author; cf. Jer. xxxii. 20.

16. a) **According to all thy righteousness.** He adjures Jhvh by His many righteous acts; acts of kindness to Israel, to allow His fury to be turned from His people. In *v.* 14 "righteous" means "just", but for righteousness in this sense of "graciousness", cf. Is. xlii. 21; Zeph. iii. 5; Deut. xxxii. 4; Ju. v. 11.

16. b) **Thy holy mountain** in apposition to Jerusalem, cf. Is. ii. 2, the mountain of the Lord's house.

16. c) **Jerusalem and thy people are become a reproach to all that are about us.** The Holy City and the Holy People are an object of mockery to all the surrounding heathen who taunted the Jews about the powerlessness of Jhvh to save His people from the persecutions of Antiochus.

17. a) **The sanctuary that is desolate,** e. g. the defiled Holy of Holies, in which Antiochus had set up a "desolating abomination"; cf. *v.* 27.

17. b) **For the Lord's sake.** Better "for Thine own sake", following Θ[7].

18. a) **Incline thine ear and hear; open thine eyes and behold.** This seems to be taken *verbatim* from Is. xxxvii. 17.

18. b) **The city which is called by thy name;** viz., the city which rightfully belongs to Jhvh. This statement is repeated for greater emphasis in the following verse. The petitioner seeks to impress upon Jhvh that ***His own city*** is being destroyed.

21. a) **The man Gabriel.** The angel is sent, not to tell Daniel the meaning of the prophecy in Jeremiah, the general signification of which the Seer already understood (*v.* 2), but to increase his knowledge by explaining the application of the prediction more fully and distinctly. Cf. *v.* 22 "to give thee

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[7] See below, philological note.

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skill and understanding", i. e. to give thee a more clear understanding.

21. b) **Being caused to fly swiftly.** Flying angels never appear in the O. T., although we find a flying seraph mentioned Is. vi. 6, and the flying of Jhvh upon a cherub spoken of Ψ xviii. 11; 2 Sam. xxii. 11. It is quite possible that "to fly" here in Daniel means simply "to proceed with great rapidity" and that the phrase should therefore be translated "hastening rapidly". The author may of course have had in mind the flying seraphs and cherubs of the passages just quoted and applied this idea to angels, but such a view is not satisfactory owing to the lack of analogy in the O. T. Behrmann[8] calls attention to the fact that winged angels appear first in Enoch lxi.

21. c) **Touched me.** Better "approached me".

21. d) **About the time of the evening oblation,** e. g. about sunset, cf. Nu. xxviii. 4. This expression is used here merely to specify the time when the angel appeared to Daniel. The evening sacrifice itself had of course ceased during the Antiochan persecutions.

24–27. Seventy weeks are determined upon thy city. The chief point of the angel's explanation is that the seventy years of Jeremiah's prophecy were not ordinary years, but in reality year-weeks, e. g. that each year of Jeremiah meant seven years and that the whole period of probation and trial was therefore to last 490 years instead of seventy years as is stated in Jer. xxv. 11–12. That these weeks of Dan. are weeks of years and not of days has been commonly accepted by critics from the very earliest times[9]. This whole passage is a most interesting example of the apocalyptic style. The author takes a genuine prophecy, undoubtedly intended by its origi-

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[8] Dan. p. 62. [9] I except of course the extravagant theories of some orthodox expositors like Kliefoth, Keil, etc. who, in their efforts to prove the divine character of the prophecy, distort the interpretation grotesquely and needlessly (see Bevan, p. 142 and note, on Keil, p. 332).

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nator to refer simply to the duration of the Babylonian captivity, and, by means of a purely arbitrary and mystical interpretation, makes it denote the entire period of Israel's degradation down to his own time. The writer does not do this in his own words, but, true to the apocalyptic method, by means of the utterance of an angel whom he makes appear to his hero and give an explanation of the prediction concerning which Daniel had been praying. The prophecy in these verses is in reality an extension of the vision of the 2300 evening-mornings of viii. 14 and of the "time, times and half a time" of vii. 25.

The real point at issue here is not so much the meaning of "week"[10], which can hardly bear any other interpretation than "seven years", but is the question as to what period of time the author really meant to indicate by the mysterious seventy weeks. When does this epoch begin and, still more important, when does it end? Owing to the immense number of views on this subject, it is quite impossible to discuss them at any length. It may truly be said that the name of these theories is legion. The reason for such a great diversity of opinion is undoubtedly the desire felt by a number of expositors to make the seventy weeks extend to a given historical point which differs according to the attitude of the respective critics or schools of critics. Thus, the *terminus ad quem* has been variously fixed as, 1. the end of the Maccabæan period; 2. the birth of Christ; 3. Christ's first public appearance; 4. the Crucifixion; 5. the war under Vespasian; 6. the war under Hadrian; 7. the second coming of Christ. As to the beginning of the period, the *terminus a quo*, opinions are naturally almost equally at variance. We find the following views: 1. the time of the prophecy Jer. xxv. 11–12; 2. the time of Daniel's supposed activity, e. g. the beginning of Cyrus' reign in Babylon; 3. the date of the first decree of Artaxerxes

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[10] See, however, the numerous views cited Behrmann, p. 65; Bevan pp. 142 ff.

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Longimanus, Ezra vii. 1 (458 B. C.); 4. the date of the second decree of the same king, Neh. ii. 1 ff. (455 B. C.); 5. the birth of Christ.

It seems quite clear from 2 Chron. xxxvi. 19–21 that the seventy years of Jeremiah were regarded as beginning with the conquest and destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B. C., and it appears equally likely that the earlier Hebrews considered the close of the seventy years to have been the return of the exiles to Palestine in the first year of Cyrus (537); cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22; Ezra i. 1 ff. In point of fact, however, as will appear from the dates 586–537, the exact duration of the exile was only forty nine years, so that the seventy years of Jeremiah's prophecy must really be regarded as a round number. This fact should be borne in mind in discussing the duration of the seventy year-weeks of Daniel, because we have no right to suppose that the Maccabæan author would be more accurate in his reckoning than was Jeremiah.

The seventy weeks are divided into three periods of uneven length; viz., one of seven weeks; one of sixty two weeks, and the last of one week. It seems probable that the author of Daniel like the Chronicler began his seventy weeks with the destruction of Jerusalem in 586. He gives the duration of his first seven weeks "from the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem unto Messiah the prince". This "commandment" must be the divine word spoken through Jeremiah quoted in *v.* 2, that the desolation of Jerusalem should last only seventy years. The author evidently regarded the utterance of Jeremiah's prophecy and its fulfillment as being practically contemporaneous events and accordingly dates from the chief occurrence predicted, i. e. the destruction of the Holy City under Zedekiah in 586. The end of his first seven weeks then must be the end of the Babylonian captivity in 537, and his "Messiah the Prince" may therefore be Joshua the son of Jozadak mentioned Ezra iii. 2 who was the first

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High Priest[11] after the exile, and who was with the first party that returned. It is certainly significant that the first seven weeks, i. e. forty nine years, should coincide exactly with the duration of the captivity in Babylon. That our author is more accurate in this respect than Jeremiah is probably because the prophecy in Daniel is a *vaticinium ex eventu* concerning a period, all the details of which were well known in the very latest times. Not until the second period of sixty two weeks do we begin to find any historical inaccuracies.

This second period of the epoch, during which Jerusalem is to be peopled and built, and at the end of which the Messiah is to be cut off, is much more difficult to determine. The key to the problem lies undoubtedly in the last statement regarding the overthrow of the Messiah or Anointed One[12]. Such a reference coming from a Maccabæan author can only allude to the deposition by Antiochus of the High Priest Onias III. which took place about 174 B. C. and the Syrian king's subsequent murder of the same person not later than 171 (2 Macc. iv. 33–6). The difficulty now arises that between 537 and 171 there are only 366 years instead of the required number 434. It does not seem permissible with some expositors[13] to reckon the sixty two weeks from the beginning of the seventy weeks; viz., 586 B. C., thus causing the first period of seven weeks and the second of sixty two weeks to overlap. This was certainly not the author's intention, as the whole passage shows very plainly that he meant seventy consecutive weeks; besides, nothing is gained by such a device, because this would bring the date down to the meaningless year 152 which would be too late to refer to Onias, unless of course the beginning of the whole period be set back, for which there seems to be no warrant. By far the most satisfactory theory regarding discrepancies of this sort in the later Jewish authors

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[11] Cf. Zech. iii. 1. [12] That the term Messiah or Anointed One is used of the High Priest is seen from Lev. iv. 3; v. 16. [13] So Behrmann, p. 66.

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is that of Cornill[14] who correctly saw that a Maccabæan author could not be expected to be perfectly acquainted with the chronology of the Persian period. He therefore adopted the only tenable theory regarding the problem; viz., that the author of Daniel did not know the chronology between 537 and 312, the establishment of the Seleucidan era, and consequently made the period too long[15]. That the Jewish historians, when they were in doubt, had a tendency to do this is seen from the much quoted example of Demetrius[16] who placed the fall of Samaria (722 B. C.) 573 years before the accession of Ptolemy IV (222), thus making an error of seventy three years. Josephus who places the reign of Cyrus 40–50 years too early makes a similar error.

The last week is divided into two sections (26–27), in the first of which the city and Sanctuary shall be destroyed, and in the second, the daily offering is to be suspended. All critical scholars recognize the identity of this second half week with "the time, times and half a time" of vii. 25[17]. This last week must end therefore with the restoration of the Temple worship in 164 B. C.

This whole prophecy unquestionably presents problems which can never be thoroughly understood, first, because the author must have been ignorant both of history and chronology, and secondly, because in his effort to be as mystical as possible, he purposely made use of indefinite and vague expressions which render the criticism of the passage a thankless and unsatisfactory task.

24. a) **To finish the transgression and to make an end of sins, etc.** Literally "to seal up the sins", which really means to finish or complete them. All these infinitives show the purpose for which the seventy weeks were ordained. They point to the future; to what is to happen after the period of

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[14] St. O. ii. 1–32. [15] So also Meinhold, Bevan, Graf and Nöldeke.
[16] Behrmann, p. 65; Bevan, p. 148, quoting Schürer, Gesch. ii. p. 616.
[17] Cf. also the 1150 days of viii. 14.

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probation is completed. These six acts; viz., finishing the transgression, making an end of the sins, making reconciliation for iniquity, bringing in everlasting righteousness, sealing up the vision and prophecy and anointing the Holy of Holies are grouped in three pairs. The sins and iniquity referred to are of course the former idolatrous unfaithfulness of Israel against Jhvh.

24. b) **To anoint the Most Holy** does not allude to the anointing of a Messianic King, according to the idea of the translators of the A. V., but simply means the reconsecration of the Sanctuary after its defilement under Antiochus. For the term applied to the sacrificial altar, cf. Ex. xxix. 37.

25. To restore and to build. Perhaps "to people and to build", following Bevan; see below, philological note. The last part of this verse is very obscure. It should perhaps be rendered: "And (in) sixty two weeks it (Jerusalem) shall be peopled and built, public places and (private) garden trenches". For the last words "even in troublous times" see next verse.

26. The following translation for this verse is suggested in accordance with the philological notes: "And in the end of the times[18] (namely, after the sixty two weeks) the Anointed One shall be cut off and there shall be no one for him (no successor); and as for the Holy City, the people of the prince who is to come shall destroy it and its end shall be in overwhelming flood, and unto the end shall be war. Desolations are decreed".

"The people of the prince" must mean the army of Antiochus. "People" in this sense appears also in the Song of Deborah, Ju. v. 2.

The prince who is to come is of course Antiochus himself who is the subject of the first sentence in the last verse.

27. The following conjectural translation for this verse is suggested: "And he shall turn aside the covenant for the many

[18] This is the proposed translation of the words rendered in A. V. "even in troublous times".

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one week, and half of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the fruit offering to cease; and instead thereof, (there shall be) a desolating abomination; but furthermore, ruin and judgment shall be poured out upon the desolator".

The subject of the first two verbs is Antiochus who substituted the "desolating abomination" for the regular sacrifice. In the last clause we have the prophecy of his overthrow; cf. viii. 25.

CHAPTER TENTH.

The tenth Chapter is the Prologue of the last section of the Book which treats of Daniel's fourth vision recorded in xi.–xii. This prophecy, as it deals directly with the period and reign of Antiochus Epiphanes himself, is really the climax of the second part of the work and therefore probably seemed to the author to need a longer introduction than the other chapters. The details of the vision will be discussed under Cc. xi.–xii.

C. x. should be divided into five paragraphs as follows: — Daniel's preparation for the vision, 1–3; the appearance of the divine messenger, 4–8; the angel reassures Daniel, 9–11; he explains the object of his coming, 12–14; conversation between Daniel and the angel, 15–xi. 1.

1. a) **The third year of Cyrus.** This is the latest date mentioned in Daniel's career (see also above p. 63 on i. 21). It would be useless to speculate on the significance of this date as some have done, asking why Daniel remained so long in Babylon. The date was probably merely intended to serve as a heading quite irrespective of any attempt at correct chronology [1].

1. b) **But the time appointed was long.** This can hardly be a correct rendering. Translate "And the distress was great" [2].

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[1] See below p. 168 on xi. 1. [2] See below, philological note.

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2. **I Daniel was mourning,** e. g. over the desolation of Israel.

3. **Pleasant bread.** Lit. "bread of preciousness"[3], e. g. dainty leavened bread. This is employed in contrast to the unleavened bread used in fasting which is called the bread of affliction (Dt. xvi. 3).

4. a) **And in the four and twentieth day of the first month.** This was Nisan 24th, the month of the Passover, during which a week of fasting was enjoined.

4. b) **Which is Hiddekel.** This name, which occurs only here and in Gen. ii. 44, was perhaps borrowed by the author from the latter passage. There is absolutely no reason to cancel these words as a gloss with Behrmann (p. 67)[4].

5. a) **A certain man clothed in linen.** The idea seems to have been borrowed from Ezek. ix. 2[5]. The official vestments of the Jewish priests were of linen, as may be seen from Lev. vi. 3, xvi. 4, so that it was natural enough for a Jew to conceive of angels, the higher priesthood, in a similar garb.

5. b) **Gold of Uphaz** can only be a textual corruption for "gold of Ophir" which occurs Ψ xlv. 9.

6. a) **The beryl.** Better "chrysolith", according to Josephus. It is called "tarshish" in Hebrew, probably because it was brought from Tartessus in Spain[6].

6. b) **Polished brass.** This is a very doubtful rendering. The exact meaning is not clear[7].

6. c) **Like the voice of a multitude;** cf. Is. xxxiii. 3. The angel's voice was deep and resonant like the sound of many human voices; cf. Rev. xix. 6.

7. **The men that were with me saw not the vision.** It is strange that precisely the same thing is told of the companions of St. Paul when he saw the vision which led to his conversion; Acts ix. 7.

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[3] See below on ix. 23. [4] See Kamphausen, Dan. p. 37. [5] So Hitzig, Bevan, etc. [6] Cf. Ex. xxviii. 20; Ezek. i. 16 and see Pliny, 37, 109. [7] See below, philological note.

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8. a) **I retained no strength** is absolutely necessary to round off the verse. There is no reason to suppose it to be a gloss with Behrmann (p. 68).

8. b) **The voice of his words,** e. g. the sound of his words.

9. a) **Then was I in a deep sleep on my face.** Better: "then I being unconscious on my face". The phrase is really a circumstantial clause. As in viii. 18, Daniel faints at the sound of the heavenly voice.

9. b) **And my face towards the ground.** This has been unnecessarily regarded as a redundant gloss by Behrmann[8].

10. **And set me upon my knees and upon the palms of my hands.** Better "and set me trembling upon, etc." Daniel was lifted up by an unseen hand, evidently that of the Angel, from the prostrate posture to his hands and knees, a position still common in the East during prayer.

12. a) **For from the first day,** e. g. from the beginning of the three weeks when Daniel had begun to prepare himself for a divine revelation by fasting.

12. b) **For thy words:** "on account of thy words", e. g. by reason of thy prayers for enlightenment. This meaning is perfectly clear and it is quite unnecessary to translate with Behrmann "for thy sake".

13. a) **The prince of the kingdom of Persia** is the guardian angel of the Persian power who had attempted to prevent the divine messenger from enlightening the representative of Israel. The allusion here is not clearly brought out, so that it is practically impossible to know exactly what the author meant by the Persian angel's resistance. It is evident, at any rate, that he intended to indicate that the Persians, like their predecessors the Babylonians and their successors the Greeks, were inimical to the chosen people of Jhvh.

It is highly probable that this system of special guardian angels for various nations is of Persian origin, but it is by

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[8] But see Kamphausen, p. 38.

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no means certain when the idea was first adopted by the Jews. Behrmann's view that nowhere in the Book of Daniel do we find a system of angelology which could not have been developed independently along the lines of native theological thought without any extraneous influences, is hardly satisfactory[9]. While it is true that the earlier Jewish writers believed in angels—possibly survivals of a still more primitive star worship—there seems to have been no tendency to establish a definite system or hierarchy of such divine beings until quite a late date, probably as late as the period of the Persian supremacy. Various commentators have referred to the passages Is. xxiv. 21 and Ψ lxxxii. as a proof that the belief in national guardian angels was held at a very much earlier time than the Book of Daniel, but, as the date of both of these quotations is uncertain, and as they are themselves extremely indefinite in their allusions, no satisfactory conclusion can be drawn from them. The probability is that the system of angels which seems to be accepted in Daniel as a recognized belief was a natural developement of the earlier Hebrew indefinite ideas regarding the heavenly host, which took place under the influence of the elaborate system with which the Jews came into contact at the time of and after the Persian conquest of Babylon[10].

The idea that the "Prince of the kingdom of Persia" was Cyrus, a human being, as was supposed by Hävernick is entirely against the context. Even Jerome recognized that this was a guardian angel.

The name of the angel who revealed to Daniel the vision recorded in xi.–xii. is not recorded, but we are led to assume that he is an assistant of Michael who is the national guardian spirit of Israel[11].

13. b) **And I remained there with the kings of Persia.** Translate: "While I was left alone there, contending with the

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[9] Dan. p. xxiii. [10] See above p. 149 on viii. 16. [11] Cf. *v.* 21 and xii. 1.

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kings of Persia"[12]. The angel means to say that Michael the guardian of Israel came to aid him while he was contending with the hostile Persian dynasty. The allusion to the twenty one days is to explain why Daniel had received no answer to his prayer for three full weeks (*v.* 2). The angel had really been contending with the Persians since the beginning of their supremacy in Babylon (cf. xi. 1).

14. For yet the vision is for many days. The vision points to a distant future. Some expositors translate "Since the vision is still for these days", i. e. for these latter days just referred to. The former rendering seems more satisfactory, because "days" may be used here as in Neh. i. 4 in the sense of "many days"; cf. also 1 Sam. ii. 19, where the yearly sacrifice is called the sacrifice of days (*scil.* "many days").

15. I set my face towards the ground. Not as in *v.* 9 involuntarily through physical fear, but voluntarily in homage to God's messenger; cf. ix. 3.

16. a) **One like the similitude of the sons of men touched my lips.** This is clearly the angel himself; cf. Is. vi. 7.

16. b) **By the vision my sorrows are turned upon me.** The expression "sorrows" here should really be rendered "pangs", as it is a word used of the pains of childbirth (1 Sam. iv. 19). It is found in the sense of bodily discomfort during a supernatural revelation also Is. xxi. 3.

18. So great was Daniel's terror that he required to be touched and reassured by the angel a second time.

19. Be strong, yea be strong is an excellent rendering[13].

20–21. The train of thought here is certainly not logical. The question "knowest thou wherefore I come unto thee?" is merely rhetorical. Daniel of course knows that the messenger's purpose is to bring a revelation (cf. *v.* 14). The angel, therefore, does not answer his own question at once, but proceeds to state parenthetically that he must return directly to fight

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[12] Bevan's suggestion, p. 168, is almost the same, but see below, philological note. [13] So also Kautzsch-Marti. See Kamphausen, p. 38.

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for the interests of Israel with the angel of Persia and he very significantly prophesies that after the Persian power, he, the representative of the people of Jhvh, will be opposed by the guardian angel of Greece, a new enemy. The introductory section would have been incomplete without this allusion to the power under which Antiochus flourished, a detailed description of which is to follow in C. xi. After this parenthetical statement the angel then answers his own question "but I will show thee, etc."

21. a) **The scripture of truth** is probably the book of divine records kept in Heaven, in which all future events are entered and which is alluded to Ψ cxxxix. 16.

21. b) **And there is none that holdeth with me, etc.** Better "there is none that helpeth me", e. g. the angel speaking is the assistant of Michael, the guardian of Israel.

21. c) **In these things.** Lit. "against these"; viz., against the hostile heathen powers.

xi. 1. **Also I in the first year of Darius the Mede, even I, stood to confirm and stengthen him.** This is an extremely difficult passage, first, because of the ambiguity of the pronoun "him" and secondly, because of the disagreement between the ancient versions. It is uncertain whether the author meant "him" to refer to Michael or to Darius the Mede, besides which the verb-form "stood" is corrupt in the Masoretic text[14]. If xi. 1 be taken in close connection with x. 21, it seems clear that the angel meant to indicate that he had confirmed and strengthened Michael in the first year of Darius the Mede which to the author of Daniel was the beginning of the Persian supremacy, i. e. that he had been unceasingly engaged in striving with the heathen Medo-Persian power since the very beginning of its career in Babylon. The author's intention seems to have been to impress upon his readers the constant watchfulness of Jhvh over the welfare of His people.

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[14] See below, philological note.

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CHAPTER ELEVENTH.

The second verse of the eleventh Chapter begins the revelation. This entire section, which is simply a description in purposely mysterious language of the rise and fall of Antiochus Epiphanes, the great enemy of the Jewish race, has been aptly compared to a shadow-play, the characters of which can be guessed at only by the initiated. The author, therefore, in many cases takes especial pains to leave the subject or object of the verb unexpressed, in order to obscure his real meaning. Such a strange style was followed probably for the sake of his own and his readers' safety during the violent persecution under which the Jews were suffering at that time.

The paragraphs relating to Antiochus himself (*vv.* 21–45) are preceded by a *résumé* (*vv.* 1–20) in the form of a prophecy concerning the chief historical events which were to take place between the assumed time of Daniel—the beginning of the Persian empire in Babylon (537 B. C.) —and the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes (175 B. C.). The author evidently considered such an introduction necessary, because even he would have felt the incongruity of a prophecy concerning his own time addressed without any connecting links to a person living during the reign of Cyrus. He accordingly does not begin at once with the period of the Maccabæan persecution, but leads up to it quite skilfully by making the angel explain to Daniel what was to come to pass in his (Daniel's) immediate future. The climax of the prediction is, of course, the last section, *vv.* 20–45, treating especially of the reign of the Syrian persecutor. The author's object in this entire section is the same as that which he keeps in mind throughout the Book, e. g. to show his readers how the earlier heathen powers invited destruction by their own wicked acts and that consequently the same fate was likely to overtake Antiochus.

It is difficult to decide just when Cc. x.–xii., were written, but it is probable for the following reasons that they were

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composed before the death of Antiochus. First, the fact that there is no mention whatever of the successful rebellion, under Judas Maccabæus nor of the restoration of the Temple worship, to both of which occurrences the author appears to look forward, shows plainly that these events had not yet taken place. In *v.* 34, for example, he seems to attempt to console those sturdy spirits who in their first endeavour to resist the king's attacks on Jhvh's worship were repulsed and disheartened. He explains this their fall as he does all the misfortunes of Israel as a means of chastisement "to prove them" (*v.* 35). Secondly, his apparently unhistorical statements regarding the wars of Antiochus with Egypt show that the Book must have been finished before the close of that king's career. The author introduces three allusions to such wars, the first two of which (25–28; 29–35) are historical, but the last of which (40–43) was probably an incorrect forecast.

The chapter should be divided into eleven paragraphs: — The last kings of Persia, 2; the rise of Alexander and his successors, 3–4; Ptolemy I., Seleucus I. and Ptolemy II., Antiochus II. 5–6; Ptolemy III. and Seleucus II., 7–9; Antiochus III., the Great, 10–19; Seleucus IV., 20; the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, 21–24; his first Egyptian campaign (170 B. C.), 25–28; the third Egyptian campaign and the pollution of the Sanctuary, 27–35; description of the wicked king's personal character, 36–39; the prophecy of another Egyptian expedition and of the king's overthrow, 40–45.

2. a) **Yet three kings in Persia.** Three kings are to arise *after* Cyrus (cf. x. 1), but there is no hint given as to their identity, possibly because this allusion was sufficient to inform the reader of the Book who were meant. The O. T. mentions the names of only four Persian monarchs: — Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes, and it seems probable that our author knew no more than these and was perhaps also ignorant of the fact that the name Darius is not always used of the same person. On the other hand, he must have known that the

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Persian period lasted much longer than the reigns of only four kings (cf. ix. 25). We must conclude, therefore, that these kings are used here rather in the sense of historical epochs than of reigns, although the author may really have known of no other individual reigns than the ones he mentions.

2. b) **And the fourth shall be richer than they all.** All expositors agree that this is Xerxes, so that the author's four kings are probably Cyrus, Darius, Artaxerxes and Xerxes. He seems not to have known that Artaxerxes I. came after Xerxes.

2. c) **He shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia.** This is the rendering of V. and appears to be correct. The expression "realm, kingdom" is peculiar, however, as this is by no means the proper term to apply to Greece at the time of Xerxes. There seems to be again a confusion of historical facts, the author probably having in mind here the empire of Alexander. Behrmann asks by what other term the writer could have denoted the federation of Greek states. Had he known of the existence of various states in Greece at the period of which he was writing, he would very likely have simply used the word "Greece".

3. **And a mighty king shall stand up**; of course Alexander the Great.

4. **His kingdom shall be broken, etc.** This is apparently an allusion to the division of Alexander's empire among his generals[1].

The last half of *v.* 4 seems to show clearly that the author meant to allude here to the partition of Alexander's power. **Even for others besides those** must refer then to the rise of subsidiary dynasties in Armenia, Cappadocia and elsewhere. Hitzig[2] translates "to the exclusion of those", meaning the sons of Alexander, but the Hebrew preposition used here always means "besides".

5. a) **And the king of the South shall be strong.** At this point the author takes up the history in which he is more

[1] See p. 145 on viii. 8. [2] Dan. p. 189.

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immediately interested; that of the Ptolemæan kingdoms of the South and that of the Seleucidan kingdoms of the North. The king of the South here, therefore, is Ptolemy I. the son of Lagus[3] (306 B. C.), the founder of the Ptolemæan dynasty, whose career was highly important in Jewish history, as he captured Jerusalem by strategy and is said to have deported a number of Jewish prisoners from Samaria and Palestine to Egypt. He is said also to have induced many Jews to take up their permanent residence in Egypt because, as Stade points out[4], he recognized their importance as a connecting link between the native Egyptians and the ruling Greek race.

5. b) **And one of his princes.** This expression should go with what follows; viz., "And one of his princes shall be strong above him", etc. "His" refers to Ptolemy. The person alluded to is clearly Seleucus Nicator, the founder of the Seleucidan dynasty, who was at first an officer in Ptolemy's army and who in 306 B. C. became the king of Syria and of the eastern provinces of Alexander's dominion. So great was the power of Seleucus I. that he was regarded by the ancients as beginning a separate chronological era; cf. 1 Macc. i. 10.

6. a) **And in the end of years they shall join themselves together.** The author omits entirely any mention of Antiochus Soter, the son and successor of Seleucus I. The subject of the verb "they" does not refer to the two kings mentioned in *v.* 5, but to Ptolemy II., Philadelphus and Antiochus II., Theos, the son of Antiochus I., Soter.

The "king's daughter of the south" was Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus who was given in marriage in 248 B. C. to Antiochus II., in order to establish a firm alliance between Egypt and Syria.

6. b) **The power of the arm** probably means political support as in *vv.* 15; 22; 31. Berenice, in spite of her marriage to Antiochus, shall not retain the power to support her father.

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[3] So Jerome. [4] Cf. Stade, Gesch. ii. p. 276; Jos. Ant. xii. 1; Contra Apionem ii. 4.

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6. c) **Neither shall he stand nor his arm** is highly unsatisfactory. If the text remains unaltered, it should probably be translated "and his arms (supports) shall not abide", i. e. Ptolemy's daughter shall have no power to aid him, nor shall his other supports be of any use to him. The only satisfactory translation, however, is that of Θ "and his seed shall not abide", e. g. the seed of Ptolemy, referring to the inability of Berenice to aid her father.

6. d) **But she shall be given up, etc.** This text is absolutely untranslatable as it stands, because the verb cannot mean "given up to destruction", as the A. V. implies, nor, assuming the text to be corrupt, is it clear just what has been changed or omitted. Perhaps we should translate "But she and he that sent for her and he that begat her and he that strengthened her shall become a terror (?)", e. g. shall be destroyed in so terrible a way that the world shall be frightened. The idea seems to be that Berenice's father and husband shall perish, in spite of their effort to gain strength by an alliance. This is undoubtedly an allusion to the historical events which followed this unfortunate marriage. Antiochus II. was poisoned in 247 by Laodice, his first wife, whom he had put aside in order to marry Berenice. Laodice also murdered Berenice and her child. Ptolemy Philadelphus on hearing of his daughter's death died of a broken heart.

7. a) **But out of a branch of her roots shall one stand up in his estate.** Better "but one of the offshoots of her roots shall arise in his stead". This offshoot of her (Berenice's) roots is her brother Ptolemy III., Euergetes, who succeeded his father Ptolemy Philadelphus on the throne of Egypt. "In his estate", therefore, clearly means "instead of Ptolemy Philadelphus".

7. b) **Which shall come with an army.** This is clearly incorrect. It may mean "who shall come against the army", e. g. of Syria [5].

[5] See below, philological note.

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7. c) **And shall enter into the fortress of the king of the North.** This probably refers to the capture of Seleucia by Ptolemy Euergetes, recorded in Polyb. v. 58. The Egyptians held this fortification many years. Ptolemy had attacked Syria in order to avenge his sister's murder.

7. d) **And shall deal with them,** e. g. with the Syrians.

8. This verse undoubtedly refers to the spoils carried away by Ptolemy Euergetes during this war. The statements made here are confirmed by the Monumentum Adulitanum, the inscription on which is given by Cosmus Indicopleustes in his Christian topography[6]. The Egyptians are said to have given Ptolemy the title of Euergetes on account of the spoil brought home from the Syrian campaign.

9. This verse should be rendered: "But he shall come into the kingdom of the king of the South and shall return into his own land". It is probably a reference to the invasion of Egypt by Seleucus Callinicus who attempted to avenge the Syrian conquests of Ptolemy III. Seleucus was unsuccessful, however, and was compelled to return to his own land.

10. a) **His sons shall be stirred up.** Translate "shall make war", e. g. the sons of Seleucus Callinicus. These were Seleucus III., Ceraunus and his brother who afterwards became Antiochus III., the Great.

10. b) **And one shall certainly come, etc.** Better "And he (Antiochus III.) shall certainly come and overflow and pass through". The latter expression is probably borrowed from Is. viii. 8. Seleucus Ceraunus was killed in Asia Minor after a two years' reign. He was succeeded by his brother Antiochus who made war on Ptolemy IV., Philopator, the son and successor of Ptolemy Euergetes. This verse plainly refers to the attack of Antiochus III. against Egypt.

10. c) **Then shall he return and be stirred up even to his fortress.** The subject of the first verb is again Anti-

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[6] Behrmann, p. 72; also Hitzig, p. 193.

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ochus III. who shall return to the attack after having his army in garrison all winter at Seleucia (Polyb. v. 66). The last part of the verse should be translated "and they shall make war even to his (Ptolemy's) fortress", i. e. the Syrian army shall advance as far as Raphia, the fortress of Ptolemy about 20 miles southwest of Gaza[7].

11. a) Although the Syrian king was at first victorious, Ptolemy eventually defeated him at Raphia, 217 B. C., and again annexed Palestine to Egypt.

11. b) **He shall set forth a great multitude, etc.** means "he (Antiochus) shall raise a great army and the army shall be given into his (Ptolemy's) hands"[8]. There can be no better example of the author's ambiguous style in this chapter than in *vv.* 10–11.

12. a) **And when he had taken away the multitude his heart shall be lifted up.** Translate "And the multitude shall be taken away and his (Ptolemy's) heart shall be lifted up", e. g. the army of Antiochus shall be defeated and Ptolemy shall be unduly elated over his victory.

12. b) **But he shall not be strengthened by it.** Better "but he shall not exercise strength". Ptolemy was a weak and indolent character. Instead of following up his victory as he could easily have done, he made peace with Antiochus as soon as possible (cf. Polyb. v. 87).

13. a) **For the king of the North shall return, etc.** Thirteen years after the battle at Raphia, Antiochus III. once more invaded the dominion of the Ptolemies with a larger army. Ptolemy IV., Philopator, had died in the meantime and left an infant son Ptolemy V., Epiphanes, whose accession seemed to Antiochus III. to be a good opportunity to avenge the former Egyptian triumphs in Syria.

13. b) **With much riches.** Better "with many weapons".

14. a) The "many" who are to arise against the king of

[7] Cf. Pomp. Trog. prol. l. 30. See, however, Hitzig who thought that this fortress was Gaza, the Syrian stronghold. [8] So Bevan, p. 179.

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Egypt are probably the Egyptian rebels who had revolted against Ptolemy IV. and who were still in arms against his young successor.

14. b) **The robbers of thy people.** Better "sons of the violent of thy people". This is plainly an allusion to those Jews who, owing to the harsh treatment which they had received from Ptolemy IV., were favourably inclined to the Syrian king[9].

Bevan, following LXX, alters the text here and translates "those who build up the breaches of thy people", thinking that the author meant those who aimed at the restoration of Israel. It is unnecessary to change the text, however, to see that this is probably what the author had in mind. There must have been a Jewish faction about this time who longed to throw off the rule of the Ptolemies and who consequently tried to make use of the Syrian power in order to accomplish this end, hoping no doubt to become eventually entirely independent. The term "sons of the violent", therefore, may mean the warlike predatory Jews. Kamphausen[10] thinks that this is a reference to the robber crew of tax contractors and all their adherents. The whole question is very obscure owing to our ignorance regarding the history of Israel at this period.

14. c) **To establish the vision.** The action of these Jews in siding with the Syrian king, although evil, was necessary for the fulfillment of the prophecy. That they should fail in their attempt to attain independence is also quite in accord with the Divine Will.

15. Cast up a mount, e. g. set up a fortification. This verse seems to be a continuation of *vv.* 13–14. Antiochus, after a war lasting several years, completely conquered the Egyptians and regained Palestine. The decisive battle was fought at Mt. Panium with the Egyptian general Scopas who was forced to take refuge in Sidon and eventually to surrender uncon-

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[9] Cf. Jos. Ant. xii. 3, 3–4. [10] Dan. p. 40.

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ditionally to Antiochus. Some commentators see in this passage an allusion to the siege of Sidon by Antiochus.

16. a) **He that cometh against him shall do according to his own will,** e. g. Antiochus who comes against Ptolemy shall act as best pleases himself.

16. b) **The glorious land,** e. g. of Palestine; see on viii. 9, p. 145.

16. c) **Which by his hand shall be consumed.** Bertholdt, changing the vowels, translated "all of which (Palestine) shall be in his hand". Hitzig "with destruction in his hand". Bertholdt's rendering is to be preferred, as Antiochus subdued the whole land of Palestine.

17. a) **He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom.** Translate "to come with energy into his (Ptolemy's) kingdom". Antiochus after the Palestinian campaign shall turn his attention to the subjugation of Egypt proper, but shall find it more advisable to conciliate his rival by a treaty.

17. b) **And upright ones with him; thus shall he do.** Translate "and he (Antiochus) shall make a compact with him (Ptolemy)". He accordingly shall give the Egyptian king his daughter Cleopatra, "the daughter of women", really "the young woman".

17. c) **Corrupting her;** perhaps "as a destruction", e. g. Antiochus gave his daughter to Ptolemy, aiming thereby to destroy Ptolemy's kingdom. Von Lengerke suggested that Antiochus hoped in this way to excite against Ptolemy the enmity of Rome, but it is much more natural to suppose that the Syrian king expected to have a constant ally in his daughter at the court of Egypt who would side against her husband and with her father.

17. d) **But she shall not stand on his side neither be for him.** Cleopatra will not side with her father, whose plans are not to be successful.

The whole verse should read: "He also shall set his face

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to come with energy into his kingdom, but he shall make a compact with him; and he shall give him the daughter of women as a destruction, but she shall not avail nor shall she be for him".

18. a) **Unto the isles.** Better "the coast-lands". Antiochus III. attacked Asia Minor in 197 B. C. and was at first quite successful.

18. b) **But a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease.** Translate "but a leader shall cause his insults to cease". This is undoubtedly a reference to the Roman general Lucius Scipio (Asiaticus) who thoroughly defeated the forces of Antiochus at Magnesia in 190 B. C. (Livy 37, 39–44).

18. c) **Without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him.** This is both incorrect and meaningless. Translate "but he (Scipio Asiaticus) shall pay back to him his insults".

19. Antiochus was eventually killed at Elymais while trying to plunder the temple of Bel. For "fort", render "strongholds".

20. a) **Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom.** Translate "then shall arise in his place one who as a raiser of taxes shall make the glory of the kingdom to pass away". This verse evidently refers to Seleucus IV., Philopator, the son of Antiochus II., under whom the prime minister Heliodorus robbed the Jewish Temple (2 Macc. iii. 7 ff.). The "raiser of taxes", therefore, is probably Seleucus who instigated the mission of Heliodorus. As to the appropriateness of the latter part of the sentence, we may refer to Livy's opinion of the reign of Seleucus IV. He describes his reign as having been an unprofitable one and not renowned for any deeds[11].

20. b) **Within few days.** Seleucus reigned 187–178, a

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[11] Bk. 41, 19.

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period which no doubt seemed brief to the author of Daniel, in contrast to the long reign of Antiochus Epiphanes[12].

20. c) **Neither in anger nor in battle.** Better "not by violence nor in war". This must refer to the supposed murder of Seleucus Philopator. That the author of Daniel believed Seleucus IV. to have been assassinated by the orders of Antiochus Epiphanes has already been discussed above p. 134.

21. A vile person to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom, i. e. a person who shall not be regarded as the rightful heir to the kingdom. It is commonly admitted that this can only be Antiochus Epiphanes who usurped the throne after the death of his brother Seleucus. The rightful heir was Demetrius the son of Seleucus who became king after the death of Antiochus' son (162)[13].

The latter part of the verse "and he shall come in unawares and shall seize the kingdom by treachery" agrees well with 2 Macc. v. 25 (cf. also viii. 23). The rest of c. xi. is devoted exclusively to the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.

22. a) **And with the arms of a flood shall they be overflown from before him.** Translate "And the arms of a flood shall be swept away from before him", e. g. the arms of Egypt which had often been like an overwhelming flood against Syria shall in their turn be swept away from before him. Bevan believes that this passage refers to the domestic troubles in the beginning of Antiochus' reign, giving as a reason for his theory that Egypt is not mentioned until *v.* 25 and that therefore *vv.* 22–24 constitute a preliminary section and must refer to the Syrian opposition to Antiochus. If this were so, the author would hardly have designated the defeated forces of the Palestinian rebels as "the arms of a flood", whereas such a term might very readily be used of the formidable Egyptian army. Bevan, it is true, avoids this difficulty by arbitrarily altering the text, but there is really no need for such a device.

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[12] So Rosenmüller. [13] See above p. 134.

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Vv. 21–24 are without doubt a preliminary paragraph to the following section treating of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. The author, therefore, mentions in them in outline the most important events of that king's reign; viz., his fraudulent accession, his attacks on Egypt, his murder of Onias and his plundering propensities. This allusion to Egypt is not of course a reference to a separate campaign from that described in *vv.* 25 ff.[14]

22. b) **Yea, also the prince of the Covenant.** This must be the Jewish High-priest Onias III. who was assassinated by the orders of Antiochus about this time. It is not probable that the author can be alluding to Ptolemy Philometor the son of Ptolemy Epiphanes, as he would hardly have referred to a heathen prince in such a way. Furthermore, Ptolemy Philometor was not at that time an "ally" of Antiochus, "a covenanted prince", as some render here.

23. All those who ally themselves with Antiochus shall be deceived. He shall rise to power by means of a small people, e. g. a few faithful partisans.

24. a) The first part of *v.* 24 should be translated "He shall enter unawares into the fattest provinces". Some commentators find great difficulty in deciding just what these "fattest provinces" were. Bevan, for example, considers this translation to be a misinterpretation of the author's meaning and renders "He shall attack the mightiest men of each province unawares", referring to viii. 25. This translation, however, seems to interrupt the context. The probability is that we have here a general allusion to the passion of Antiochus for plundering. The author means to say that the Syrian king always plundered the richest states. Although Antiochus was a great robber of temple treasures, he was at the same time very generous (cf. 1 Macc. iii. 30; Livy 41, 20). Polybius also records that the king presented every Greek at Naukratis with a piece of gold

[14] So Hitzig, p. 203.

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(28, 17). This trait of character is alluded to here by the author of Daniel as being different to anything ever before seen in the Seleucidan house.

24. b) **He shall scatter among them,** e. g. among his followers. The "strongholds" probably refer to those of the Egyptians against which Antiochus must have plotted some time before his invasion.

25. a) Here begins the account of the first invasion of Antiochus into Egypt in 170 B. C. The king of the South here is Ptolemy Philometor, in opposition to whom his younger brother Ptolemy Euergetes or Physkon was crowned king by the disaffected Egyptians during the war with Antiochus. There can be little doubt, however, that Ptolemy Euergetes is not alluded to here as Hitzig thought (p. 205).

25. b) **But he shall not stand.** Ptolemy was unsuccessful against Antiochus Epiphanes, partly because of treachery in the Egyptian ranks. His own people "forecast devices against him".

26. a) The first part of this verse explains the treachery of Ptolemy's followers. **Portion of his meat** should be translated "dainties". This probably refers to his treacherous courtiers who betrayed him to Antiochus.

26. b) **His army shall overflow.** Better "shall be swept away".

27. a) Ptolemy had now been conquered by Antiochus and had entered into an alliance with the Syrian against his younger brother Ptolemy Physkon who had been proclaimed king at Alexandria. This league, however, based as it was on falsehood, could not prosper.

27. b) **For yet the end shall be at the time appointed.** The end referred to here is the ultimate overthrow of Egypt and the entire success of the arms of Antiochus who is to be permitted to stand during an appointed time; evidently not for long, however, as he was forced to invade the country again in 169.

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28. a) **And his heart shall be against the Holy Covenant.** After his return from Egypt, Antiochus was enraged against the Jews because they had deposed the High-Priest Menelaos whom the Syrian king had appointed in place of Jason, the successor of Onias III. (cf. 2 Macc. v. 5). Antiochus considered this movement to be a rebellion against his authority and proceeded against the Jews with great cruelty, plundering Jerusalem and the Temple and massacring many Jews (1 Macc. i. 20–24; 2 Macc. v. 11–21).

28. b) **And he shall do exploits and return to his own land.** Antiochus returned to Antioch after sacking the Temple.

29. a) **He shall . . . . come towards the South.** This must be an allusion to the third Syrian invasion of Egypt in 168 B. C. Antiochus had made a second attack on that country in 169 which seems to be passed over in silence by our author, perhaps because it did not especially concern the Jews.

29. b) **But it shall not be as the former or as the latter.** Translate "But it shall not be in the latter as in the former". These words show clearly which invasion the author had in mind, because Antiochus was defeated in this third expedition. Ptolemy Philometor and Ptolemy Physkon had now become reconciled and were united against the common foe.

30. a) **The ships of Chittim.** The term "Chittim" was used by the later Jews to denote all the western maritime nations [15]. This must therefore be an allusion to the Roman fleet which was sent to Egypt under Caius Popilius Læna, in order to force Antiochus to evacuate the country (cf. Polyb. 29, 11; Livy 45, 12). The LXX. translate here correctly "Romans". The Syrian king was unable to resist the combined Egyptian and Roman armies and was compelled to retreat ignominiously.

30. b) **So shall he be grieved, etc.** should be translated "so shall he lose courage and return", e. g. from Egypt.

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[15] Jos. Ant. i. 6, 1.

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30. c) **And have indignation against the Holy Covenant.** Jerusalem was sacked again in 168 by the king's command. It was at this time that Antiochus began his crusade against the Jewish religion.

30. d) **And he shall return,** e. g. from Jerusalem to Antioch, where he will direct the persecution.

30. e) **And have intelligence with them that forsake the Holy Covenant.** The king will be favourable to those Jews who have been false to their people and beliefs (cf. 1 Macc. i. 11–15; 2 Macc. iv. 11–17).

31. a) **And arms shall stand on his part.** Better "And arms sent by him shall prevail". We have here an allusion to the large army, mentioned 1 Macc. i. 29, which Antiochus sent to Jerusalem to carry out his wishes. In 2 Macc. v. 24, the number of troops is given as 22000.

31. b) **And they shall pollute the Sanctuary of strength.** Better "And they shall pollute the Sanctuary, the stronghold". The sacrilege was done by the Greco-Syrian troops acting under the orders of Antiochus, with whom a number of renegade Jews were in league. According to 1 Macc. i. 54, a heathen altar was built on the place of sacrifice in the Holy of Holies. This profanation took place in 168 B. C. It is stated in 2 Macc. vi. 2 that the Temple was solemnly dedicated to Zeus a little later[16]. There can be little doubt, therefore, that "the desolating abomination" is an allusion to this act of Antiochus in turning the Temple into a place of heathen worship. Whether it is a direct reference to the new altar itself or merely a general one to the worship of a heathen god in Jhvh's Sanctuary is not certain.

32. And such as do wickedly against the Covenant shall he corrupt by flatteries. Better "he shall make renegades by specious devices". The king, by flatteries and various wiles, shall make apostates of those Jews who bring sin upon the

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[16] *Cf.* Nestle, Marg. p. 42.

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Covenant, e. g. who were hostile to Jhvh. This class is contrasted with "the people that do know their God", who shall not be weakened, but "shall be strong and do exploits". The direct opposite to those who do wickedly against the Covenant is also the class mentioned in xii. 3 "they that turn many to righteousness".

33. a) **And they that understand among the people shall instruct many.** Translate "And those of the people who have insight shall cause many to understand", e. g. the leaders of the rebellion against the tyrannies of Antiochus persuaded many Jews to adhere to the ancient worship and to join them in their struggle for freedom (1 Macc. ii. 42; vii. 13; 2 Macc. xiv. 6).

33. b) **Yet they shall fall,** e. g. the leaders. The rebellion proved unsuccessful at first.

34. With a little help. This may refer to the beginning of the career of Judas Maccabæus whose prospects, however, did not look especially bright at first. The last sentence should be translated "but many shall join themselves to thee treacherously". Many Jews deserted to the Syrians owing to the cruelty of the fanatical Hebrew leaders.

35. And some of them of understanding shall fall. The author gives the reason why the attempt to shake off the Syrian yoke was permitted to be unsuccessful at first. Jhvh allows his people to fail, in order "to try them and to make them white until the time of the end", the time when He shall see fit to relieve them of their sufferings. Meanwhile, "it is yet for a time appointed". The pious must wait His will and pleasure and never falter in their faith.

36. This is a truly Jewish description of the character of Antiochus (cf. 2 Macc. ix. 12). The Greek historians are inclined to regard him as a pious man noted for his generous gifts to Greek temples, although they also relate that he plundered many local shrines. That a Jewish writer should regard him as an irreligious monster, however, is by no means

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surprising, owing to the king's intense hostility to the national Israelitish religion which he believed, not without reason, to be treasonable against his own authority.

37. a) **The God of his fathers.** Literally "the gods of his fathers", e. g. the national Syrian deities whose worship Antiochus neglected for that of the Olympian Zeus. The king's chief aim from the very beginning of his career had been to centralise his empire in every possible way, not only politically, but also religiously. His disregard of the gods of his fathers — a strange reproach by the way from an Israelite — was probably the effort he made to abolish local usages which is mentioned 1 Macc. i. 41–42.

37. b) **Nor the desire of women.** This is evidently some god. It is probably an allusion, either to the cult of Artemis or Nanaia at Elymais[17], the temple belonging to which Antiochus attempted to plunder, or else to the widely spread worship of Tammuz-Adonis who might appropriately be called "the desire of women"[18].

37. c) **Nor regard any god.** Cf. Polyb. 31, 4, who relates that Antiochus robbed most of the shrines. This probably refers, however, to the local cults which the king was trying to stamp out. The statement that Antiochus did not regard any god is contradicted by the first sentence in *v.* 38.

38. But in his estate shall he honour the god of forces. Translate "But instead thereof he shall honour the god of strongholds, e. g. in place of these other deities he shall devote himself exclusively to the worship of the god of strongholds. The probability is that this is Zeus Polieus whom Hoffman[19] considers to have been the family god of the Seleucidæ. The next words, however, which seem to describe this unknown deity as the god whom his fathers knew not, appear to preclude such a theory. The deity alluded to may

[17] Cf. Appian b. Syrus, 66. See also 2 Macc. i. 13, where it is stated that Antiochus met his death there. [18] See Bevan, p. 196; also Ezek. viii. 14 and ZDMG. xvii. pp. 397 ff. [19] See Behrmann, p. 79.

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indeed be Zeus Polieus, but the author could not have thought him to be the family god of Antiochus. The allusions in this verse and the next are extremely obscure, partly because of the text and partly perhaps because of the author's ignorance of the facts.

39. a) The first sentence of this verse is by no means as unintelligible as Bevan considered. It should probably be translated "And he shall carry this out against the most impregnable strongholds with (in aid of) a strange god", e. g. he shall carry out the course of action mentioned in *v.* 38, that of honouring the god of strongholds with gold and silver, etc., and shall accomplish this by plundering the most impregnable temple strongholds of their treasures, in order to devote them to his favourite deity. This is to be done with "in support of"[20] this god. There seems to be a play on the word "stronghold" here.

39. b) **Whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory** is probably incorrect. This sentence together with the rest of the verse should be rendered "Those whom he favours he shall honour greatly and he shall cause them to rule over many and shall divide the land for gain". Antiochus, after plundering the local shrines in order to honour Zeus, shall aid and advance his own favourites, possibly the renegade Jews, making them governours of provinces. Finally, he shall seize and sell *for his own profit* the land of the pious Jews who have rebelled against his authority.

40–43. These verses are probably no longer an historical compendium of events in the author's past, but set forth his hopes and expectations for the future. This section clearly alludes to another Egyptian campaign under Antiochus Epiphanes which must be subsequent to 168 B. C., the latest year of the events described in the preceding verses. Authentic history, however, makes no mention of such an attempt.

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[20] See below philological note.

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Porphyrius, it is true, states that Antiochus made war again on Egypt in about 165 and refers Dan. xi. 40–3 to this last campaign, but it is highly improbable that such an attempt was ever made. Antiochus had been thoroughly defeated during his third Egyptian campaign by the Roman general Popilius Læna and Egypt was under the protection of Rome at the time when this supposed last expedition took place. The conquest of Egypt mentioned in these verses is evidently regarded by the author as being an important one and, if it were historical, would certainly have been mentioned by some writers. The silence of all authors except Porphyrius concerning it forces us to conclude, therefore, that we have here an incorrect prediction by the author of Daniel who must have expected another Syrian attempt against Egypt. Hitzig's idea that *vv.* 40–5 refer to events previous to 168, in fact that they are a *résumé* of the chief occurrences of the reign of Antiochus from 171 until his death, is quite contrary to the evident sense of the passage.

40. At the time of the end. What follows must plainly be subsequent to the time of the end mentioned in *v.* 35 which is used of the end of the period of persecution. The author clearly thought, therefore, that there was to be another Egyptian campaign after 168; viz., the one described in these verses.

41. Antiochus sweeps through Palestine, "the glorious land"[21].

And many countries shall be overthrown. Translate "and ten thousands of people shall be overthrown"; cf. *v.* 12.

The second part of *v.* 41 contains a bitterly sarcastic allusion. Edom, Moab and Ammon are to escape from the wrath of Antiochus, because they are the enemies of Israel. Edom and Ammon helped Antiochus against the Jews (1 Macc. iv. 61; v. 3–8) and would naturally be spared from his depre-

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[21] Cf. on *v.* 16 and p. 145.

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dations. Moab was probably still in existence as a tribe in Maccabæan times and need not be regarded as a reminiscence from the older writings[22]. The Moabites probably did not disappear until the third Christian century when they became absorbed by Arab tribes[23].

43. a) **Precious things.** Literally "hidden things".

43. b) **The Libyans and the Ethiopians.** Not only Egypt proper, but the outlying peoples shall be subjugated by Antiochus.

44. **Tidings out of the East and out of the North.** Antiochus is supposed to be in Egypt, so that the author must have meant by this that the king should hear bad news from Palestine, most probably concerning the triumphs of the Jews and their recovery of Jerusalem. Such an event would naturally enrage him, so that he would "go forth (e. g. from Egypt) with great fury", in order to take vengeance.

45. **The tabernacles of his palace,** e. g. his palace tents. The infuriated Syrian king shall pitch his royal tent "between the seas and the mount of glorious holiness"; viz., between the Mediterranean and Mt. Zion[24], but this time "he shall come to his end and none shall help him". Thus shall the people be avenged and the time of their tribulations cease. Antiochus really died in Persia in 164. This is not indicated here, because these chapters must have been written some time before his death. The author therefore gives no details, but contents himself with the general prediction that the persecuting king shall be overthrown.

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[22] See Bevan, p. 199 and cf. 2 Chron. xx. 1; 2 where all three nations are mentioned as enemies of Jehosaphat. [23] Behrmann, p. 80. [24] The sense of the passage necessitates this interpretation. The reference must be to the Mediterranean and Palestine and certainly not to the Persian Gulf at Elymais as Hävernick thought. For other views, cf. Hitzig, v. Lengerke, Behrmann, Bevan, etc.

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CHAPTER TWELFTH.

The twelfth chapter of Daniel is really not a distinct section, but is merely a continuation of C. xi. This last division of the Book falls naturally into three paragraphs: — The concluding paragraph of the angel's announcement, 1–3; the angel's last word, 4; the Epilogue, 5–13.

1. a) **At that time,** e. g. at the time of the fall of Antiochus, prophesied xi. 45.

1. b) **Shall Michael stand up.** The guardian of Israel (xi. 13; 21) shall arise to protect his people.

1. c) **And there shall be a time of trouble, etc.** Cf. Joel ii. 2. What this trouble is to be is not stated, but the author probably had in mind an attack against Jerusalem by a combination of heathen nations (cf. Zech. xiv. 2ff.)[1]. Hitzig thought that the idea of this passage was based on Jer. xxx. 7.

1. d) **Written in the Book,** e. g. in the Book of Life, in which are recorded the names of the Just who are to enjoy the coming Messianic kingdom.

2. This verse is the earliest passage in the O. T. which plainly teaches the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead[2], but not of *all* the dead. The "many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth" are in all probability only the Israelites. No mention is made of the resurrection of the other nations, probably because the author did not believe in eternal life for the heathen. The resurrection of all human beings, however, is prophesied in Enoch xxii. which was written at a period when the idea of a general resurrection had become more widely spread among the Jews. The purpose of the writer of Daniel in this passage seems to be to show his readers that the deeds of the Israelites are to be rewarded in a future life according to their merits. In this state the pious are to have

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[1] Cf. Bevan, p. 201. [2] See above, p. 21.

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"everlasting life"[3], e. g. a life of eternal bliss, while the renegades and enemies of the cult of Jhvh shall "awake to shame and everlasting contempt". The same division into good and bad Israelites is seen also xii. 3.

3. a) **They that be wise.** These are the same as "those who have insight" mentioned xi. 33, e. g. leaders among the people.

3. b) **They that turn many to righteousness** who are thought of here in parallelism with "those who have insight" are the direct opposite of "those who do wickedly against the Covenant" in xi. 32. For the idea of turning to righteousness or justifying, cf. Is. liii. 11. These leaders of the people are to be especially glorified in the future life.

4. a) This verse should be compared with viii. 26. "The Book" here in all probability refers to the entire work and not, as some have supposed, only to this last vision x.–xii. As in viii. 26, this injunction to keep the vision secret is merely a literary device to explain to the readers of Daniel why the Book was not known before their time. It evidently did not occur to the author that Daniel was quite powerless to "shut up the words and seal the Book". There was of course no way by which the Prophet could have kept such a vision hidden from immediate posterity until the Maccabæan period, here designated as the time of the end. Although this is perfectly clear to the modern reader, it is probable that such a difficulty would never occur to the less accurate Oriental mind, so that the author's careless statement in this passage was quite sufficient to account to his readers for the appearance of Daniel's visions centuries after they were revealed.

4. b) **Many shall run to and fro and knowledge shall be increased.** Translate "Many shall search it (the Book)

[3] This expression occurs only here in the O. T. It is identical with the ζωὴ αἰώνιος of the N. T. It must be carefully distinguished from the "life for evermore" of Ψ cxxxiii. 3 which simply means eternal life for Israel; cf. Bevan, p. 201.

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diligently and knowledge shall be increased", e. g. the visions herein recorded are to be kept hidden until the time of the end, when they shall be studied by many pious Jews who will thus increase their knowledge of the Divine will. The various opinions regarding this somewhat obscure passage are discussed below.

5. **Other two.** Two more angels in addition to the one already speaking, perhaps Gabriel and Michael. The necessity for the appearance of two other angels is explained by *v.* 7, where the oath of the speaking angel is recorded. Two witnesses were necessary to make an oath binding; cf. Deut. xix. 15[4].

6. a) **And one said.** Better "and he said". The identity of the speaker is not clear, but he is evidently one of the two angels mentioned in *v.* 5. LXX., Θ and V. all render here "and I said" which is clearly a careless error. Daniel takes no part in the dialogue, but is merely a witness; cf. viii. 13, where an angel and not Daniel asks the same question as that given here.

6. b) **Upon the waters of the river.** Cf. viii. 16, where the speaking angel is "between the (banks of the) Ulai", e. g. standing on the water.

7. a) The speaking angel is made to swear by "Him that liveth for ever" that the end of this epoch of trial and persecution is to be for "a time, times and a half (a time)". This is of course merely a confirmation of vii. 25. These three years and a half are to begin with the abolition of the daily offering of Antiochus; cf. *v.* 11.

7. b) **And when He shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the Holy People, all these things shall be finished.** Translate "And as soon as the overthrow of the power of the Holy People is completed, (then) all these things shall be completed". As soon as Israel's very existence seems

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[4] Bevan's suggestion, p. 214.

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about to be wiped out, then shall the period of trial and chastisement be at an end. As Behrmann aptly puts it, God's help is nearest when the need is greatest. No passage in the whole Book illustrates better the author's purpose and there is none that shows more clearly the position of the Jews at the time when the work was written.

8–9. And I heard, but I understood not. The preceding words would have been perfectly clear to any Jewish reader of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, but the author makes Daniel say this, in order to lead up to the following question "How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?" The angel's answer "Go thy way, Daniel, etc." shows that the Babylonian Prophet was not intended to understand the revelation. He was merely the witness whose testimony was to be "sealed up" until the time was ripe. The absurdity of a detailed revelation of this character being made to an individual who lived centuries before the prophecies were to be fulfilled seems never to have occurred to the author.

10. None of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand. This is probably a generalization without any direct reference to understanding the time of the end. The wicked Israelites have no light and hence act without guidance, but the wise, e. g. "those who have insight (xi. 35)", being led by Jhvh, cannot go astray.

11. A thousand two hundred and ninety days. These 1290 days express in more exact figures the three years and a half of *v.* 7. Every third year it was customary to add to the calendar a thirteenth intercalary month, so that $3^1/_2$ years here would be equivalent to 43 months, each of 30 days, making a total of 1290 days[5].

12. The thousand three hundred and five and thirty days. The happy period to which the author was referring was, in all likelihood, still in the future for him. That the

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[5] See Behrmann, p. 83.

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"time, times and a half" probably alludes to the restoration of the Jhvh cult in Jerusalem has already been mentioned[6]. It is not known, however, what event the author had in mind when he specified this longer period of 1335 days which we may presume began at the same time as the 1290 days. He seems to have meant to indicate that 45 days after the close of the 1290 days (1335–1290 = 45) the supreme consummation of Israel's hope, possibly the freedom of Jhvh's people and their establishment as the Messiah-nation, was to be realised. That *vv.* 11–12 are interpolating glosses, or that *v.* 12 is a correcting gloss to *v.* 11 is highly unlikely.

13. a) The interpretation of this verse is extremely difficult. **But go thou thy way till the end be.** Literally "Go thou until the end". The most reasonable interpretation of the passage is to suppose that this is a reference to the end of the Prophet's life[7]. Daniel is told to pursue his own course until the natural end of his life shall come.

13. b) **For thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of days.** Better "And thou shalt rest and arise unto thine inherited portion at the end of the days". Daniel after living his holy life in Babylon and Susa, is to rest *in the grave* and rise *from the dead* with the other Israelites in the final resurrection mentioned in *v.* 3, when he shall have his rightful share as an heir in the hoped-for spiritual Messianic kingdom.

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[6] See p. 140. [7] See, however, Hitzig, Bevan and Behrmann.

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PART THIRD.

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY.

CHAPTER I.

1. נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר. The original Babylonian form of the name is *Nabû-kudurri-uçur* "Nebo (god of recorded wisdom) protect the boundaries" (e. g. of the kingdom). The great king is called *naçir kudurrêti* "protector of the boundaries" (V. R. 55, 5), most probably in paronomasia with his name. This seems better than to consider *kudurri* in this name to be the word for the royal head-dress[1], found I. R. 49, col. iv. 10ff.

The more correct Hebrew form נבוכדראצר with ר[2], which corresponds to the *Ναβουκοδρόσορος* of Abydenus and the *Ναβοκοδρόσορος* of Strabo, does not occur at all in Daniel, where the name is always found as נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר, with the original ר sharpened to ן. A similar interchange of ר and ן is seen in the Heb. שנים = Aram. תרין; Heb. בן = Aram. בר; cf. also Heb. עשיר = Arab. *ʿathîl*[3]. Only in this passage of Daniel do we find an א inserted after the second ן.

3. i. אשפנז (V. *Ashpenez,* Θ *Ἀσφανέζ*) is evidently a very corrupt form of some Babylonian name. The LXX. has *Ἀβιεσδρί* and the Syr.-Hex. אביעזר. Delitzsch identifies this with the tribal

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[1] So Flemming, Neb. pp. 22–3. See also Meinhold, Dan. pp. 28–30.
[2] Found Jer. xxi. 2 – xxvii. 5, and from xxix. 21 to the end, as well as everywhere in Ezra. Elsewhere in the O. T. the name occurs in the form נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר. [3] Also in Sumerian *Unug-Uruk,* Lehmann, J. H. U. Circ. iii. p. 33; Hommel, ZK. ii. pp. 102ff.

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name אשכנז of Jer. li. 27 which appears in the inscriptions as *Ašgunza-Ašguza*[4]. Although such a supposition is possible, it does not seem likely that the name of a tribe which had no connection with Babylon should have been applied, even in the confused traditions of the Maccabæan period, as a distinctively Babylonian proper name. The final ר seen in the Syriac form, the ϱ in the Greek version, as well as the general appearance of the name in M. and Θ suggest the possibility that all these forms are corruptions of an original name ending in *-uçur*; perhaps, *Ištar-apal-uçur* "Istar (goddess of love) protect the son"[5]. An exact counterpart of such a name is *Nabû-apal-uçur* "Nebo protect the son", the name of the father of Nebuchadnezzar who was the first independent king of the second Babylonian empire.

3. ii. The use of רב instead of שר in the expression רב סריסיו is a characteristic late Hebraism; cf. 2 K. xxv. 8; Jer. xxxix. 3; 13[6]. סָרִיס = סַרִיס always means "eunuch" in the O. T. The meaning of the stem is probably "to be impotent".

3. iii. פרתמים is a loanword from the O. P. *fratamā* "first"[7].

4. i. מדע "knowledge" is a late Hebraism only found in 2 Chron. i. 10; xi. 12; Dt. i. 4; 17. In Eccles. x. 20 it means "consciousness". The Aram. form of this word מַנְדַּע has given the name to the Mandæan or Gnostic sect[8].

4. ii. כשדים is in all probability a derivative from *kašâdu* and means "conquerors". It appears in Bab. as *Kaldi* = *Kašdi*.

4. iii. היכל is a Bab. loanword, commonly used in Hebrew to denote "palace" or "temple". The word is probably not Semitic, but seems to have been borrowed by the first Semitic invaders of Babylonia from the Sumerian combination *e-gal* "big house". It was known to the Hebrews as early as the time of Amos, the eighth century B. C. (cf. Amos viii. 3).

[4] Bär and Delitzsch, Lib. Dan., p. ix. [5] Lenormant suggests that the original was אשבנזר "goddess protect *(sic)* the seed" (Div. p. 182). [6] Winckler's derivation of רב סריס from the Assyr. *rab ša riš* is not satisfactory (UAG. p. 138). [7] Lag., Arm. stud. § 2289. [8] Nöldeke, Mandäische Gr. p. xx.

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5. i. פת־בג is a loanword from the O. P. *patibaga,* the exact meaning of which is not clear[9]. The Greek *ποτίβαξις,* Athen. xi. 9. 503, and the Syriac ܦܬܒܓܐ are variations of the same word. The correct translation is probably "dainty". The word is written with maqqeph because the first syllable suggested the familiar פת "piece, portion."

5. ii. יעמדו "they should stand".

6. i. דניאל "God is my Judge"; written דנאל in Ezekiel (xiv. 14; 20; xxviii. 3). Also דנאל in Palmyrene, Vog. p. 93.

6. ii. מישאל is a regular Hebrew name like Hananiah and Azariah. It probably means "Who is as God is?" It is found also Ex. vi. 22; Lev. x. 4; Neh. viii. 4.

7. i. בלטשאצר, written בלטאשצר, x. i. The author of Daniel evidently regarded the first syllable of this word as containing the name of the god "Bêl" (cf. Dan. iv. 5; כְּשֻׁם אֱלָהִי). It is now generally recognized that this name is a corruption of the Assyrian *Balaṭsu-uçur,* "protect his life"[10], probably an abbreviation for *Bêl-balaṭsu-uçur* "Bêl protect his life". While it is true that we would rather expect to find ס instead of שׁ in the biblical form בלטשאצר, representing an original *s* sound; i. e. *Balatsu-uçur,* it is possible that in Babylonian the form of the name may have been *Balaṭašu-uçur* with *š*. In addition to this, it should not be forgotten that the name was probably strongly influenced by the similar sounding Belshazzar[11]. Georg Hoffmann's reading, ZA. ii. 56, *Balaṭ-šar-uçur* "Balaṭ preserve the king" does not seem admissible. He sees in *Balaṭ* the name of a god, Saturn, and compares *Sanballaṭ,* which is clearly a corruption of *Sin-uballiṭ,* "Sin (the moon-god) has made him live". The *Βολάθην* of Phot. Bibl. c. 242, quoted by Hoffmann, is probably not *Balaṭ*. The passage as he gives it is as follows: *Φοίνικες καὶ Σύροι τὸν Κρόνον Ἤλ καὶ Βήλ*

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[9] Lag., Ges. Abh. p. 73. [10] Opp. Doc. Jur. p. 282; Schrader, KAT.[2] p. 429; Fried. Del. in Bär and Del., Lib. Dan. pp. ix. x. [11] Del., Assyr. Gr. p. 171.

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καὶ Βολάθην ἐπονομάζουσι. The writer may have mistaken *Βολάθην* for the name of a male divinity.

7. ii. שדרך seems to be a corruption of a Babylonian word. It may either be for ***šudurakku*** "one endowed with the power of command" or, for ***šadraku*** "I command", the permansive of ***šadâru.*** Fried. Delitzsch suggests that it is a variation of ***Šudur-Aki*** "command of the Moon-god"(?)[12].

7. iii. מישך. This name seems like a corruption of some original Babylonian form, but no satisfactory explanation of it has yet been suggested.

7. iv. עבד נגו has long been recognized as a corruption of עבד נבו "the servant of Nebo" (cf. III. R. 46, c. 1, 82, where the name actually occurs in a bilingual inscription, Assyrian and Aramaic; KAT.[2] p. 479). The form ***abdu*** for "servant" is rare in Assyrian, but sometimes occurs in proper names like ***Abdimilik.*** The ordinary word is ***ardu.*** Bevan has called attention to the fact, that for some time after the Christian era the name עבד נבו was borne by heathen Syrians (p. 61).

8. יתגאל. גאל in the sense of "defile" is a by-form of געל. The ordinary expression is טמא.

10. i. אשר למה for "lest" is an Aramaism (cf. Ezra vii. 23); also Syr. ܕܠܡܐ[13].

10. ii. זעפים "haggard"; like *σκυθρωπος* in Matth. vi. 16. The primary meaning of the stem זעף is "to be violent" (cf. Ar. *zaʿafa,* and Pr. xix. 3; 2 Chr. xxvi. 19 "to be angry at"). The original force is seen in the late Hebrew phrase מיתה של זעף "a violent death"; also Aram. זעפא "violent wind or storm". The application of the word in Daniel to denote an unhealthy appearance is probably a later extension of the usage found in Gn. xl. 6, where it signifies "to appear sad or disturbed in mind".

10. iii. גיל "generation" for the classical דור is a later Hebrew developement common in the Rabbinical language[14].

10. iv. חיבתם from חוב is undoubtedly a late Hebraism. In

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[12] Del., Lib. Dan. p. xii. [13] Nöldeke, Syr. Gr. § 273. [14] Levy, Hebr Wörterbuch, p. 324a.

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the Rabbinical idiom the stem seems to mean "to be subordinate", hence "to be bound or guilty". It does not occur in the O. T. except in Ez. xviii. 7, where, however, it is probably to be read שוב, with Cornill.

11. מלצר "guardian" (Θ Ἀμελσάδ; V. *Malasar*) is most probably a corruption of the Assyrian *maççaru*[15] "a watchman" or "guardian" from *naçâru* "watch, guard" (cf. *maççar çibitti* "the guardian of the prison", V. R. 13. 15 ff.). The ל in מלצר probably merely indicates resolution of the doubling of the צ.

The LXX. render Ἀβιεσδρί, which in *v.* 3 is the equivalent of the proper name אשפנז.

12. זֵרֹעִים is an irregular form of זֵרוּעַ "that which is sown", e. g. "garden herbs" (cf. Is. lxi. 1). In *v.* 16, the form זרענים is probably a diminutive of this word. A similar example of the ending ־וֹן in this sense is אִישׁוֹן "the pupil of the eye; a little man". Bevan compares קמוש and קמשון, p. 62[16].

13. תִּרְאֶה is the Aramaic punctuation for תֵּרָאֶה.

15. בריא "stout, well nourished" from ברא or ברה. The Assyr. *barû*, pres. *ibirri* (Rm. 2, 139 obv.) "to be hungry", e. g. "to desire to eat", is undoubtedly a cognate of this stem. Derivatives from this Assyr. stem are *birû* "hungry" and *birûtu* "hunger". Jäger's translation of the pl. *bariûti* by "fat"[17], on the analogy of Heb. בריא is inexact. The meaning of the Assyr. word seems always to be "hungry".

For בריאי בשר, cf. Gn. xli. 2; 18: בריאות בשר.

20. i. עשר ידות "ten times", cf. Gn. xliii. 34; 2 Sam. xix. 44. The ordinary word for "time", used in counting, was פעם, Josh. vi. 3; 1 Kings xxii. 16, etc.

For על in the sense of "more than", cf. xi. 5; Eccl. i. 16. This usage has an exact parallel in the Assyrian cognate *eli*: *eli maxrê ûttir* "more than before I increased it", I. R. Tig. c. vii. 86; *eli šarrâni abia* "more than the kings my fathers", I. R. Sarg. Cyl. 48.

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[15] See Del., Lib. Dan. p. xi. [16] See Kamphausen, p. 15, on this word. [17] BA. ii. p. 304.

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20. ii. חרטמים from a sg. חַרְטֹם with the formative suffix ־ום as in דרום. The word is probably a derivative from חֶרֶט "a pen".

20. iii. האשפים. Simple asyndeton; omission of the ו as in ii. 27; 45; v. 15.

The original form was the ptc. *âšipu* "one who makes incantation" (II. R. 32, 11; 38, 2; fem. *âšiptum*, IV. R. 57, 42 a; *eššepu* "an incantation", ASKT. 75, 2). The word *eššepu* which seems to be used of a sort of wailing bird, IV. R. 1, col. i. 20–1, appears to confirm this idea: *eššepu ša ina âli išaggamu* "the *eššepu* which wails in the city".

CHAPTER II.

1. i. The words תתפעם רוחו and *v.* 3, ותפעם רוחי were probably suggested by Gen. xli. 8. The first form occurs only in Daniel.

1. ii. שנתו נהיתה עליו G and *Θ*: *ὁ ὕπνος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*; V. *somnium ejus fugit ab eo.* Haupt suggests the rendering "and his dream weighed upon him", translating שנה by "dream", on the analogy of the Assyrian *šuttu (šuntu),* and regarding נהיתה as having the same meaning as if it were Qal[1]. This would necessitate, however, attributing a signification to שנה which it does not have in Hebrew, besides straining the sense of the Niphal, which in this construction would naturally mean "to happen, to befall"[2]. Furthermore, if Haupt's idea be adopted, the text of vi. 19 would have to be altered accordingly, where we read in Aramaic: ושנתה נַדַּת עלוהי with the perf. of נדד. This is plainly the Aramaic equivalent of our passage in ii. As the translation "is past" or "over" for נהיתה is very doubtful and has been questioned by many, it is not impossible that the text of ii. 1 may be corrupt and that the correct reading is ושנתו נָֽדְדָה עליו "and his sleep departed (fled)

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[1] Kamphausen, p. 16. [2] Cf. Neh. vi. 8; Dt. iv. 32; Ju. xix. 30; Pr. xiii. 19.

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from him", with the same idea for נדד as in Ψ xxxi. 12; lv. 8, etc.[3]

For this use of על, cf. iv. 33; x. 8; Jon. ii. 8. It is probably a developement of the primary idea "over upon", inherent both in על and in the Assyr. *eli.* "To flee" or "pass over" a person is to omit or except him, and we actually find *eli* used for "except" in Asurb. vi. 4: *nakru šanamma eli iaši* "no other foe except me".

2. מכשפים "reciters of incantations" from כשף which is a well known stem in Babylonian, e. g. *kašâpu* "to bewitch"; cf. *atti ša tukaššipinni* "o thou witch who bewitchest me", IV. R. 50, 47b; also V. R. 45, c. iv. 52, etc. The stem seems to have been a common one in the Hebrew of all periods from Ex. xxii. 17 until the Mishna. It is curious that the verb appears only in the Pi'el in Hebrew. In Assyrian, however, although it is more usual in the Intensive, it appears occasionally in the Qal; IV. R. 49, 38–9b. The Hebrew derivatives כֶּשֶׁף "incantation" and כַּשָּׁף "conjurer" have exact equivalents, both in form and meaning, in the Assyr. *kišpu* and *kaššapu,* fem. *kaššaptu.*

Robertson Smith's theory that the primary meaning of the stem is "to cut", e. g. "to prepare magical decoctions of herbs" has no foundation in fact. The word, like the stem אשף, probably refers to the peculiar tone of voice affected by the conjurers when reading their mysterious formulæ (see above on i. 20 iii).

4. i. עבדיך. For the elision of the י in the *Qᵉrê,* see Kamphausen, p. 16.

4. ii. פשרא "interpretation"; cf. Heb. פשר Eccl. viii. 1. This stem has an exact cognate in the Assyr. *pašâru* "to loosen, free"; IV. R. 56, 23; also Arabic فسر. The expressions *šuttu pašâru* "to interpret a dream", ASKT. p. 205; *šunata pašâru*

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[3] This and viii. 27 are the only passages where נהיה could be translated "is past, finished" or fainted"; see below p. 245.

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"to interpret dreams", HNE. p. 6, 44 show a precisely similar usage to the Aramaic word.

The Hebrew cognate פִּתְרוֹן "interpretation" must be a loanword from some dialect where the ש was lisped as a ת[4].

4. iii. נְחַוֵּה read נְהַחֲוֵה; see Kamphausen, p. 17.

5. i. For כשדיא, see Kautzsch, Gr. p. 28; Kamphausen, p. 17; also ZA. ii. p. 275; BA. ii. p. 489.

5. ii. מלתה with ה is a Hebraism.

5. iii. אזדא is a Persian loanword, equivalent in meaning to יציבה, vi. 13. The correct translation of מלתה מני אזדא is "the thing is fixed" or "determined by me". The word should be pointed אַזְדָּא, not אָזְדָא, as if it were a participial form from a supposed stem אזד[5].

5. iv. הדמין תתעבדון "ye shall be cut in small pieces". P. reduplicates here: ܗܕܡܐ ܗܕܡܐ. The word is a loanword from the Persian; cf. modern Pers. *andam* "limb". תתעבדון with *Raphe* to show that the form is not Ethpeʿel.

5. v. נוָלִי. The i-ending is probably a relic of the old genitive case; cf. Ezra vi. 11: נולו which plainly shows the nominative. The word may be a cognate of the Heb. נבל "to wither, decay"; cf. Job xiv. 18, and נְבֵלָה corpse, as well as of the Assyr. *nabâlu* "to destroy", seen in the common expresssion *abbul, aqqur, ina išâti ašrup* "I destroyed, I devastated, with fire I burned". We have a similar interchange of ב and ו in גב and גו; cf. Ezek. xxiii. 35; 1 Kings xiv. 9.

5. vi. יִתְשָׂמוּן is Ethpeʿel formed on the analogy of an Ettaphal; cf. יתשם, Ezra. iv. 21; מתשם Ezra v. 8[6].

6. i. נבזבא, also in T. Jer. xl. 5[7]; Dt. xxiii. 24. It is probably a Persian loanword, perhaps from the Old Persian *nibaj-va* "gift"[8]. Bär and Ginsburg point it נְבִזְבָּא in v. 17, *q. v.*

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[4] Cf. Haupt, BA. i. p. 181. [5] So Bär, Lib. Dan. p. vi. who makes the same error in iii. 16. The word is a derivative from the O. P. *azdā* "sure" according to Nöldeke (Schrader, Cun. Inscr. p. 430). [6] See Nöldeke, Syr. Gr. § 159. [7] According to Lagarde, מתנן ומניזבן. [8] So Haug, Ew. Jahrb. 1853 p. 160.

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6. ii. יקר means in Hebrew both "precious" and "honourable", but only "honour" in Aramaic. יקיר, however, signifies "hard, difficult"; Dn. ii. 11.

6. iii. לחן "therefore", as in ii. 9; iv. 24 and in Heb. Ruth i. 13. There is no reason for translating it "only", as Bevan suggests (p. 69).

8. כל קבל די will bear the translation "although" as in v. 22.

9. i. דתכון. דת is undoubtedly a loanword from the Old Persian *dāta* "justice"; mod. Pers. *dād*, which is treated as a feminine in Aramaic owing to the final ת. דת means "religious law", vi. 6.

9. ii. כדבה is nom. app., and not an adjective.

9. iii. שחיתא "corrupt"; "low"; cf. vi. 5, is cognate with the Assyr. *šaxtu* "humble"[9], written also *šaxṭu* with ט by partial assimilation to the preceding ת; cf. I. R. Nglr. i. 25. The stem is *šaxâtu* "to let down", I. R. Senn. c. iii. 77, from which we have also *šixtu* "something torn down"; *šixat êpiri* "torn down masses of earth", I. R. 52. nr. 4. 16a.

9. iv. הזמנתון; *Qerê* הזדמנתון Hithp. is better, because it expresses more accurately the idea "try to agree among yourselves". The original meaning of the verb in the Qal is "to buy", but in the Paʿel "to sell".

9. v. אנדע for אדע, cf. מנדעא for מדעה, verse 21. This resolution of a doubling by the insertion of a nasal is not peculiar to Aramaic alone, but occurs also in Hebrew; cf. Eccl. viii. 5; Ψ ix. 21; Ψ xix. 3, and in Assyrian, as in *inambu, çumbu,* for *inabbu, çubbu*[10].

10. i. אתי "There is." Before suffixes it often occurs in the form אית; see Kautzsch, *op. cit.* p. 125. It was originally a substantive of the stem √ית, cognate with the Hebrew biconsonantal noun יֵשׁ, a formation like בֵּן, "son", שֵׁם, "name", and the Assyrian *išu* √יש. The form אתי with final י is a secondary developement from the noun, with the addition of י. אתי comes from an original *yaty* (יתי), the construct state of which,

[9] With ת, I. R. 52, nr. 4, 3a. [10] Cf. ZA. v. p. 395; Sfg. p. 22.

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יְתַי, was pronounced אִיתַי (אִתַי) in Aramaic, initial י becoming, as always, *i*. The Syriac form *îthyā* "being"—τὸ ὄν, is probably a form with a denominal Nisbe, as for example in *šᵉgûšyā*. The triradical stem ending in י is found in the Assyrian verb *išû* "to have"; √ישׁי. In Assyrian the original short form *išu*, mentioned above as corresponding to יֵשׁ and אית, occurs, for example, Nimrod Epic, 13. 3; 5. 37, etc. Similar biconsonantal forms are nouns like *šaptu* "lip"; *daltu* "door"; *îlu* "God"; *binu* "son"; *bintu* "daughter", etc. The negative of Syriac *îth* is *laᵘth* contracted from *lâ* + *îth*. A similar contraction is found in the well known Arabic لَيْسَ (the only form of this stem preserved in Arabic), and in Assyrian *lâšu* = *la* + *išu*[11].

10. ii. יוּכַל is undoubtedly a Hebraism. The purely Aramaic form יִכֻל occurs in iii. 29; also v. 16 תִּוּכַל.

10. iii. מֶלֶךְ is the pure Hebrew form, instead of מלכא. Bevan, however, expresses a doubt as to whether such segholate formations in Aramaic may not be permissible (p. 71)[12].

11. להן here means "except", as in iii. 28; vi. 6, 8, 13; not "therefore" as in *v.* 9.

12. i. בנס is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. It occurs in T. in the form פנס. Behrmann rightly rejects the reading here as incorrect and reads נְסַס "was displeased", a cognate of the Assyrian *nasâsu*[13]. It is highly probable that the LXX. may have had this reading in their original text; they translate: τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς στυγνὸς γενόμενος.

12. ii. לכל חכימי בבל. This usage of ל as a sign of the accusative is very common in Aramaic and is precisely analogous to the *ana* of the later Babylonian.

14. i. טעם "wisdom, understanding"; see on iii. 10.

14. ii. אריוך is generally considered to be a corruption of *Eri-aku* "servant of the moon-god" (Bär, Lib. Dan. p. ix.).

14. iii. רב טבחיא "chief of the executioners". The stem *ṭabâxu* in Assyrian also means "to slaughter"; cf. *ṭâbixu* "execu-

[11] See KB. i. p. 40, 25: *laššu*. [12] See also Kautzsch, Gr. p. 92.
[13] ZB. p. 92; p. 23 n. 1.

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tioner", Sb. p. 126; also *natbaxu* "a slaughter-block" or "torture bench".

15. באדין The primitive form was probably *אֲדָן, which became later אֱדָן; then, by vocalic attraction אֶדֶן, and finally by distraction אֱדַיִן. The word is cognate with the Hebrew אז-אזי and the Arab. إِذًا.

16. i. בעא. Cf. Heb. בעה. This stem appears also in Assyr. *bâ'u* in the sense "demand" V. R. 5, 32. *Bâ'itu* means "a desired object"; *bâ'it ilâni* "the beloved of the gods", Shalm. Mon. Obv. 6.

16. ii. זמן "time", Heb. זְמָן (Neh. ii. 6; Esth. ix. 27; 31) is a loanword from the Old Persian *zarvan*; cf. mod. Pers. and Arab. *zeman*.

16. iii. ופשרא להחויה למלכא is an elliptical construction; "and (it was) to show the interpretation to the king".

18. i. רחמין is generally plural in Heb. in the sense of "mercy". It is cognate with Assyr. *rêmu* "mercy"; (ASKT. p. 99, 53; ZB. p. 20), with the Arabic رَحْمَةٌ, and with the inverted Ethiopic form *mexra*.

18. ii. רזא "mystery" is a Persian loanword.

18. iii. חברוהי "his companions", from a sing. *חֲבַר, is a cognate of Heb. *חַבָּר, Job xl. 30. The Assyr. *ebru* "friend" is an exact equivalent; IV. R. 49, nr. 2. 49; HNE. p. 36, 16.

18. iv. גְּלִי is probably not the passive ptc., but, as Bevan points out (p. 72 B.), is the old perf. passive which is seen also in the pl. form רמיו, iii. 21; vii. 9.

20. להוה The imperfect with ל-preformative is occasionally used in an optative sense, as in this passage, but in some cases shows simply the force of a regular imperf., as in ii. 28-9; iii. 14. It cannot be asserted that there is any difference between the 3 p. masc. with ל-preformative and the same form with י-preformative. It is possible that the form with ל was used with the verb, in order to avoid any similarity to the Divine Name.

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In Mandæan, as in Syriac, the regular prefix of the third pers. masc. of the imperfect is *n*, but sometimes *l*. It is highly probable that the *n* form is secondary, being a developement of an original *l*, (see Haupt, BA. i. 17), which, as is well known, occurs in Assyrian in a precative signification. We may compare in this connection, Laurie, Hebraica, ii., No. 4, p. 249; "Remarks on an Assyrian Precative in Daniel."

In Mandæan, as in Aramaic, the two prefixes appear to have an equal force; so much so, that in the former language the *l* sometimes occurs by mistake for the unchangeable *n* of the first person[14].

22. i. עמיקתא "deep wisdom"; cf. Assyr. *imqu* "wise", II. R. 16, 64b; *nemêqu* "wisdom", EIH. i. 7.

22. ii. נהירא "light". The *Q*ᵉ*rê* reads the common Aram. form נהורא. In view of the fact, however, that we find נהירו v. 11; 14 with י, and also owing to the analogy of the Syriac, the reading of the *K*ᵉ*thîb* is preferable. The presence of the *o*-vowel in חשוכא should not be overlooked in this connection. The writer probably wished to bring out the contrast between the opposing ideas of light and darkness and therefore purposely employed the light vowel, as it were, in the word נהירא.

22. iii. שרא "dwells". The original meaning of this stem is "to loosen"; cf. Assyr. *šarû*. In primitive Semitic the meaning must then have arisen "to cast bundles from the beasts of burden"; e. g. preparatory to encamping for the night, so that later the idea "dwell" was developed. We may compare in this connection the exactly analogous expressions in Arabic; حَلَّ "loosen"; مَحَلَّةٌ, مَحَلٌّ "place of rest". The month-name *Tishri* is a derivative from the Assyr. *šarû*. Its original meaning was "beginner", because, being the seventh month, it begins the second part of the year.

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[14] See Nöldeke, Mand. Gr. § 166 and for examples in Mandæan of the impf. of the verb הוא "to be" with ל preformative, § 196. Impf. forms with ל preformatives are also found in the dialect of the Bab. Talmud; see Luzzato, Gramm. d. Idioms d. Thalmud Babli, p. 84.

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22. iv. יהבת for יְהַבְתְּ; cf. תְּקֵפַת, iv. 19; עבדת, iv. 32. The form with the vowel is more usual in Aramaic.

23. אבהָתַי; better אבהָתִי.

24. עַל "he went in" has of course nothing to do with the Heb. עלה "to go up". It is a perfect of עלל from which עַל "yoke" is a derivative. The prep. עַל is used like Heb. אֶל here as in vi. 7.

25. i. הַנְעֵל for הַעֵל (cf. *v.* 24 and iv. 3), with compensative ן for resolution of the doubling; see above note v. on *v.* 9.

25. ii. השכחת 1 p. of Haphel with the accent thrown back and the vowel pathach inserted for euphony, e. g. *הַשְׁכַּחְתִּי = הַשְׁכַּחְתְּ = הַשְׁכַּחַת. The form is certainly not a Peʿal with ה wrongly written for א-prostheticum.

25. iii. גבר די מן בני. There is no need of the particle די after גבר.

26. כהל is a stem found only in Daniel. It is undoubtedly a variation of the Heb. כול and יכל, found also in Aram., iii. 17; iv. 34. The stem appears in Assyrian in the form *akâlu*; pret. *tukkal*[15], Deluge 20 (like the Heb. תּוּכַל); *aklu* "an official, one holding authority", I. R. Sarg. 64.

28. i. בְּרַם for בַּר "except" and מִן "from"; cf. חוץ מן, Eccl. ii. 25.

28. ii. באחרית יומיא "in the end of days". The Assyr. *ina arkat ume* is an exactly equivalent expression. Behrmann points out that the ordinary Aramaic idiom would be סוֹף יומיא. He suggests that the author of Dan. took the expression באחרית יומיא from Is. ii. 2.

29. For אנתא, followed by the suffix of the second person, cf. on v. 18.

30. i. על דברת דִּי "in order that"; cf. Eccl. iii. 18; vii. 14; viii. 2; Job v. 8.

30. ii. יהודעון "they might make known" is an impersonal construction used as a circumlocution of the passive[16].

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[15] Cf. BA. i. pp. 123–4. [16] See Kautzsch, Gr. § 96, c.

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31. i. אלו "behold" occurs only in Dan.; cf. vii. 8, and ארו, vii. 2; 5; 6; 7; 13. Owing to the ר in the latter form, these words were generally considered to be derivatives from ראה "to see". As this root, however, does not appear as a verb in Aramaic, any connection between it and ארו-אלו is very improbable. Behrmann calls attention to the existence of the form הלו in the inscriptions[17] and to הרי and ארי in the later Aramaic. It is not impossible that all these forms are variations of a primitive לוּ, cognate with the Assyr. *lu* "verily", which is used primarily as a particle affirmative of something which has already occurred (AW. p. 373). The Heb. conditional conjunctives אלו-לוּ may also belong in this category.

31. ii. צלם "image" was commonly used in Aramaic of the image of idols[18]; cf. iii. 1. This word is an exact equivalent and cognate of the Assyr. *çalmu* which is used, for example, of an idol, Asurb. vi. 53. It is probably from the same stem as *çalmu* "black"; ASKT. p. 91, 58; p. 124, 19, possibly owing to the dark colour of the material of which the Assyrian images were generally made.

31. iii. חד is used here as an indefinite article.

31. iv. דִּכֵּן "that" is peculiar to the Book of Daniel. It is found only here and in vii. 20–1. It is a combination of the pronoun דִּךְ and the well known demonstrative suffix *n*.

31. v. ריוה "its form"; LXX. and Θ πρόσοψις; V. *statura*. In v. 6 however it means "face, complexion, hue". The word is not borrowed from the Persian[19], but is most probably a cognate of the Assyr. *zimû* "face", which is explained by SAK-KI "surface of the head", V. R. 31, 14 c.[20] For the interchange of *m* and ו, see Haupt, ZA. ii. pp. 267; 273.

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[17] CJS. 2. 137. [18] Maimon, More Nebochim i. 1 ed. Munk, p. 35; T. Lev. xxvi. 1; Is. xlii. 8; also ZDMG. xxix. p. 110. [19] Nöldeke, Mand. Gr. p. xxxi. He retracted this theory, however, ZDMG. xl. p. 732. [20] Delitzsch, Prol. p. 152; Assyr. Gr. p. 73; Jensen, ZK. ii. p. 43, 2.

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31. vii. רוה "its appearance" is the only word in which a trace of the stem ראה appears in Aramaic.

32. חדוהי "its breast" from *חדי, cognate with the Heb. חָזֶה (חז) is used of the breasts of animals; Lv. vii. 30; Ex. xxix. 26–7, etc. It is generally employed thus in Aramaic, as in T. Num. xviii. 18, but in T. Pr. xxiv. 33, it is used of a man's bosom.

33. i. מנהון *Kethîb*; מנהין *Qerê*. As to the relative correctness of these two readings, see Kamphausen, pp. 18–19.

33. ii. חֲסַף "clay"; cf. ii. 42; 45 and Arab. خَزَف "clay vessel". This word is clearly cognate with Assyr. *xaçbu* "clay vessel", IV. R. 16, 62–3a; *xaçbatti*, Sarg. Cyl. 9; *xançabu* "potter", V. R. 32, 4c. The word can have no connection with *aspu* (Senn. v. 73) "fabrication, work", from *esêpu*, as suggested by Delitzsch, Prol. pp. 68ff., because in this case the ח of the Aramaic would appear in Arabic as ح which is represented in Assyrian by the simple aspirate. The strong ח – خ is always equivalent to the Assyrian *x*, as is the case in this word.

34. i. התגזרת. LXX. and Θ insert the expression ἐξ ὄρους "out of the mountain" before this word, which shows that their original text must have had מטורא here. Kamphausen (p. 19) considers that this must be an erroneous repetition from *v.* 35, as its introduction is out of place in *v.* 34.

34. ii. On מְחַת, Bär and מְחָת, Kamphausen, see Bevan, Dan. p. 39.

35. i. דָּקוּ. This pointing indicates a stem דקדוק, but the stem in Daniel is usually in the Haphel, as in *v.* 34[21].

35. ii. כחדה "together"; cf. כאחד, Ez. ii. 64 and Assyr. *išteniš* from *išten* "one (AL.[3] p. 93, B. 5). The Greek combination καϑ' ἕνα, 1 Cor. xiv. 31 is plainly an imitation of the Semitic idiom.

35. iii. אִדְּרֵי־קיט "threshing floors of summer". אִדַּר is ἅπαξ

[21] For full discussion, see Kautzsch, Gr. § 46, 3c.

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λεγόμενον in Daniel, but common in the form אִידַּר, אִדְּרָא in the later Aramaic. The Arabic *andar* for **addar*, and *baidar* for בית אידרא are cognates. There is no reason for supposing with Lagarde that the word is of Iranian origin[22]. It is quite possible that it may be a Babylonian loanword from the same stem as *adûru*, II. R. 52 nr. 2. 61, which seems to denote an enclosed space (AW. p. 29). *Adâru* "a receptacle", Zür. Voc. 11; 17–19 appears to be a derivative from the same root.

35. iv. מְלַאת for מְלָאַת is clearly voweled on the analogy of מְחַת.

37. חסנא "power". Behrmann translates this "riches", instead of "power" (p. 15); cf. the verb form יחסנון "they take possession of", vii. 18; 22, and Arabic حَصُنَ. In Syriac, however, ܚܣܢ means "to be powerful", while in Heb. חֹסֶן means "wealth", and חָסֹן "strong".

38. דארין, *Qᵉrê* דיירין, as in Syriac; cf. קאמין (קימין), iii. 3; דאצין (דייצין), iii. 19; דאנין (דיינין), Ezra vii. 25[23].

39. i. אחרי, fem. for אחריה like מלכו for מלכות, with omission of the final ה.

39. ii. ארעא מנך "lower than thou". The *Qᵉrê* אֲרַע is the better reading.

39. iii. תליתיא, *Qᵉrê* תליתאה; see Kamphausen, p. 19 and cf. iii. 25–6; 32; vii. 7; 23; 40.

40. חָשֵׁל "crushes", *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* in O. T. is a cognate of the well known Assyr. *xašâlu*, V. R. 18, 33cd. ff.

41. פחר "potter"; literally "a collector", e. g. of clay; cf. Assyr. *paxâru* "potter" V. R. 32, 18e; AW. p. 521.

48. רב סגנין. Heb. סגנים is undoubtedly a loanword from Assyr. *šaknu* "governour" from the stem *šakânu* "place, appoint".

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[22] Ges. Abh. p. 10. [23] Bevan, Dan. p. 75; Kamphausen, p. 19.

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CHAPTER III.

1. אקימה. The usual prefix of the causative in Daniel is ה (cf. Kautszch, Gr. § 33, 2). There are, however, nine cases of Aphʿel with א; viz., ii. 45; iii. 1; 19; iv. 11; 16; v. 12; vi. 8; vii. 8; 15.

2. i. אחשדרפניא, also vi. 2, etc.; Esth. iii. 12; Ezra viii. 36, is undoubtedly a corruption of the Old Persian *kshatrapâvan*, from which the later Greek σατράπης is a derivative. The word seems to denote the head of a province.

2. ii. סגניא. See above p. 210 on ii. 48.

2. iii. פחותא, sing. פֶּחָא (Ezra v. 14), is found also Dan. iii. 27; vi. 8. It is clearly a loanword from the Assyr. *paxâtu* "district"[1], from *pixû* "to steer, govern", and also "a governour"[2]. The Aram. פחה in Daniel is used to denote a vice-governour, not equal in rank to the אחשדרפניא.

2. iv. אדרגזריא, translated "judges" in the A. V., is a Persian loanword which seems to mean "councillors". It was probably originally *endarz-gar*, from *endarz* "counsel"[3].

2. v. גדבריא "treasurers"; Ezra i. 8; vii. 21. Bevan[4] and others suggest the alteration הדבריא from Pers. *hamdawar* "a state-adviser", on the analogy of *v.* 24 and vi. 18. This does not seem necessary, as it is quite possible that the word is a by-form of the ordinary גזבר "treasurer", itself a Persian derivative. For the interchange of ד and ז, cf. Kautzsch, Gr. § 10, 1 a. Lagarde[5], on the other hand, suggested cancelling the word entirely as an error repeating the following דתבריא, because there are only six classes of officials in LXX. and Θ, but seven in M. This is not satisfactory, however, as the LXX. deviate from M. in enumeration also in *v.* 4 and we are not bound to follow them.

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[1] Cf. *bêl paxâti* "governours"; Senn. v. 9. [2] Khors. 178. [3] Cf. Lagarde, Symm. i. 45, 116; Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 462, note. [4] Dan. p. 79. [5] Lag. Ges. Abh. pp. 27ff.; Nöldeke, Mand. Gr. p. 51.

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2. vi. דתבריא is a Persian compound from דָּת "law" and the final formative syllable ־בָר (seen, for example, in גְּזָבַר). The Old Persian form is *dātabara,* mod. Pers. *dāwar.* The meaning here is probably "judges", as in the A. V.

2. vii. תִּפְתָּיֵא is a word of very doubtful origin. It may be a derivative from the stem פתא "to open, make clear, explain", and consequently be a designation for "lawyers, advisers". The Arabic *afta,* ptc. *mufti,* in the fourth form, has the meaning "advise", which, however, does not appear in the other Semitic languages. In Assyr. the Shaphʿel of *pitû* "open" is used once to express the idea "to cause to see, to make clear"; Senn. Kuy. 4, 12; *ušaptûni pânišu.* We find also *pît pani* used adjectivally for "clear, perspicuous" (AW. p. 552). The ת prefix of תפתיא makes it very difficult to explain the word. It certainly does not mean "sheriffs" as in the A. V.[6]

2. viii. שלטוני. The stem שלט occurs also in Assyr. in the form *šalâṭu* "to possess, conquer".

4. i. כרוזא "herald", only here in Biblical Aramaic, but common in the Targums and in Syriac. It is probably a regularly formed *nom. agentis* from the verb כרז, found only v. 29 in Biblical Aramaic, which is itself a loanword from the Greek κηρύσσειν (see Kautzsch, Gr. § 64, 4; Behrmann, Dan. p. ix.).

4. ii. אֻמַּיָּא, sing. אֻמָּה, v. 29. Bevan's assertion that this word originally means the offspring of one mother "thus presupposing the matriarchal condition of society"[7] is not satisfactory. The truth seems to be that Syr. ܐܡܬܐ, Ar. أُمَّةٌ and Assyr. *ummatu* and *ummânu* are not derivatives from the word for "mother", but together with it, come from a common original stem אמם "to enclose, comprise, embody". There can be no doubt that *ummu,* أُمّ, אֵם, etc. "mother" originally meant the womb or enclosure in which the child is born. The same idea is seen in the Assyrian *ammammu* "vessel"; K. 242, c. iv. 25. The Semitic word אֻמִּים (sg. *אֻמָּה) from this stem meaning

[6] See also Behrmann, Dan. p. ix. [7] Dan. p. 80.

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"people, multitudes" is plainly a developement from the secondary idea "to comprise, group". It is hardly safe to generalize from the Aram. word אמה regarding a primitive matriarchal condition of society.

5. i. משרוקיתא and קרנא "pipe" and "horn" respectively[8] are the only Semitic words in this list of musical instruments. The former is from a stem שרק "hiss, blow" which occurs also Ju. v. 6 שריקות, where it probably refers to the piping of a flute or syrinx and not to "bleatings" as the A. V. renders it. The משרוקיתא was in all probability the same instrument as the עוגב, e. g. a syrinx.

5. ii. קיתרס, פסנתרין and סומפניה are plainly loanwords, as already indicated pp. 77–8, from the Greek *κίθαρις ψαλτήριον* and *συμφωνία* respectively. The first word should be pointed קִיתָרֹס[9]. The *Q*e*rê* changes it to the ordinary קִתְרֹס of the Targums; cf. T. Is. v. 12. Behrmann, p. ix., suggests that the form סיפניה of iii. 10 is more correct than סומפניה and that it goes back to some Greek word connected with *σίφων* "tube, pipe". He translates it "bagpipe", regarding it as a synonym of the Heb. עוגב which, however, was more probably the syrinx or pan's-pipe. The chief objection to his view is that there is no such Greek word as *σιφωνία*. The form סיפניה was probably merely an Aram. mispronunciation for *συμφωνία*. On פסנטרין with ט, see below p. 214.

5. iii. שבכה is clearly the semitized form of *σαμβύκη* "the triangular harp". The origin of this word is uncertain. According to Strabo (471) the instrument was of barbaric origin. It was probably Egyptian.

5. iv. זני זמרא, cf. vv. 7; 10; 15; Syr. *zenā*, cstr. *zan*, also in Heb.; Ψ cxliv. 13, is probably a Persian loanword from *zan*, the cognate of *γένος*[10].

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[8] See Cheque, Encycl. Brit. vi. pp. 803; 807; Driver, Introd. p. 470; Derenbourg, Heb. ii. pp. 7ff. [9] Kamphausen, p. 21. [10] Nöldeke, Mand. Gr. p. 97; Syr. Gr. § 146; Lagarde, Reliquiæ juris Eccles. græce p. xxviii.

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6. i. מָן, read מִן, following the Syriac; so Kamphausen, p. 21.

6. ii. יִפֵּל, cf. Heb. יִתֵּן.

6. iii. שַׁעֲתָא (Bär) or, according to the accepted text of M. שַׁעֲתָא, should be שָׁעֲתָא, both here and in iv. 16. שָׁעָה has *ā* in the first syllable; see Kamphausen, p. 21.

6. iv. אַתּוּן, iii. 11; 15; 17; 19–23; 26 "oven, furnace", which is found in Syr. ܐܬܘܢܐ Mand. *tana*, Ar. أَتُّون and Eth. *atōn*, is certainly cognate with and may be a derivative from Assyr. *atûnu* "furnace", K. 55, Obv. 3; also in the form *utûnu*, Sb. p. 95.

7. פסנטרין with ט for ת. Behrmann compares the Ar. *sanṭir*. Generally in Aram. and in later Hebrew, ת stands for ϑ and ט for τ; cf. תֵּאַטְרוֹן, $\vartheta \acute{\varepsilon} \alpha \tau \varrho o \nu$, but we do find תְּרָגֵימָא, $\tau \varrho \acute{\alpha} \gamma \eta \mu \alpha$; cf. Strack, Neuheb. Gr. p. 13 § 6.

8. i. The *qibbuts* in גֻּברין for גַּבְרִין from גְּבַר is like mod. Ar. *fatḥa* which is commonly pronounced almost like Eng. *ŭ* in *but*, e. g. *fut-ḥa*.

8. ii. ואכלו קרציהון, lit. "ate bits of the Jews", e. g. "accused them wrongfully" (also *v.* 25), occurs also in Syriac. Precisely the same expression is found in Assyr.: *qarçe akâlu* "to eat gnawingly, to slander, accuse falsely" (AW. p. 597)[11]. It is quite possible that the form of the Aramæo-Syriac idiom was suggested by this Assyrian expression, although the idea of devouring flesh as synonymous with slandering was common also among the Arabs; cf. أكل لَحْمَهُ "he traduced him"; أُكْلَةٌ "slander". The meaning in Daniel is clearly "to accuse wrongfully". The author could certainly not have had in mind the idea of *sycophants*, as Behrmann suggested, p. 20.

10. שמת טעם "thou didst command"; cf. *v.* 29; iv. 3; vi. 27, e. g. "thou didst issue an edict". Aram. טעם and Assyr. *ṭêmu* mean both "command" and "understanding". For the former

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[11] *Qarçu* from *qarâçu* "to guard, clip off"; cf. *ikkiba akâlu* "to eat guilt" which means "to take guilt upon oneself", e. g. to do wrong, IV. R. 51, 13b. See also ZA. vi., p. 246.

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meaning, cf. also on v. 2; Ezra iv. 8; 9; 17 and in Assyr., IV. R. 54, n. 1, 2: *etlu ina ṭêmišu* "the husband with his command"; I. R. 46, c. iii. 57: *kî ṭêm ramânišu* "of his own accord (command)". In *v.* 12, לא שמו עליך •• טעם "they have not considered thee", we have an excellent example of טעם in the sense of "understanding, consideration"; cf. also ii. 14; vi. 14, and in Assyr. I. R. Samsr. ii. 18: *amêlu ṭêma* "a man of understanding"; IV. R. 57, c. iii. 33: *ušanna ṭênki* "I will change thy understanding", e. g. "make thee mad"[12]. For the verb טעם "to feed", see iv. 22, and for טעם "account", vi. 3.

12. i. יתחון *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* in Biblical Aram., but common in the Targums; see Bevan, p. 38.

12. ii. The *Qᵉrê* יְהוּדָאִין should be יְהוּדָאיִן (*Kᵉthîb*). M. cancels everywhere the י of the plural[13].

12. iii. לאלהך לא פלחין "they worship not thy gods". The regular meaning of פלח is probably "to split[14], break open"; then, "to till the soil", as in Ar. فلح (cf. فلّاح "agricultural labourer"); then, "to cultivate a god", hence, "to worship", as here in Daniel and "to serve", as in Ezra vii. 24[15]. Finally, "to reverence, fear", as in Assyr. *palâxu, passim.* The word appears in Arabic with ح instead of خ, because it is an Aramaic loanword and the ח in West Aramaic was pronounced like Arabic ح[16]. We find a precisely similar case in *mašaxu* "measure", I. R. 7, c. viii. 22e which appears in Arabic as مسح, whereas it should be مسخ, according to the law of change.

13. i. רְגַז with pathach, but in the Targums רוּגְזָא, is a metaplastic formation like עֲשַׂב, iv. 12, but עִשְׂבָּא, iv. 22; כְּתַל v. 5, but כָּתְלַיָּא, Ezra v. 8; cf. Kautzsch, Gr. § 54, e.

13. ii. חֲמָא, but *v.* 19 חֱמָא.

13. iii. הֵיתָיוּ "they were brought"; cf. vi. 18 הֵיתָיִת, but v. 3

[12] Cf. also Ašurb. c. viii. 6. [13] See Kamphausen, p. 21. [14] Prov. vii. 23; Job xvi. 13. [15] In spite of Delitzsch, Prol. pp. 176 ff. [16] See Nöldeke, Syr. Gr. p. 4.

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הַיְתִיו "they brought". The first two forms are representatives of passives, which, as Wellhausen remarks, may be new developements from the participle [17].

14. i. הַצְדָא, better הַצְּדָא, if M. is to stand. Bevan, p. 83, and Behrmann, p. 21, following ii. 5; 8 suggest the reading הַאַזְדָּא "is it certain?" This is really the only satisfactory explanation of the word. The A. V. translates correctly "is it true?"

14. ii. ישיזבנכון, a Shaphʿel loanform from the Assyr. *šûzubu* [18] "to save, rescue", *passim*. The Syriac *šauzeb* is nearer its prototype. There are only two genuine Shaphʿel formations in Biblical Aramaic; viz., שיזב and שיציא from יצא; see Kautzsch, Gr. § 35.

16. i. חָשְׁחִין partc. from חשח, according to Kautzsch § 58, 2e. M. has חַשְׁחִין. The stem is a cognate of the Assyrian *xušaxxu* "need, necessity", Tig. viii. 85; *xišixtu,* I. R. 52 nr. 3, 27a [19].

16. ii. פִּתְגָם "word" not פִּתְגָּם, as it is *pethĕgâmâ* in Syriac. It is a loanword from the Old Persian *patigama*(?), mod. Pers. *paighâm* "message, word" [20]. In iv. 14, it means "decree, edict".

17. הן "if". All the versions, LXX., Θ and V. misunderstand the force of this particle and translate it "behold", as if it were the Heb. הנה, הן. In Biblical Aram. הן always means "if, whether".

19. i. אשתנו of the *Kᵉthîb* is more correct than אשתני of the *Qᵉrê.* The plural form agrees by attraction with the plural noun אנפוהי.

19. ii. חד שבעה "sevenfold"; P. Ex. xxii. 3; see Nöldeke, Syr. Gr. § 241; Mand. Gr. p. 243.

20. למרמא "throw down"; cf. vi. 25; vii. 9. רמא is probably a cognate of the Assyr. *ramû* "set, lay down", used gener-

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[17] See Deutsche Lit. Zeitung, 1887, nr. 27, C. 968, and Kamphausen, pp. 21–2. [18] Shaphʿel of *êzêbu* "to save" = Heb. עזב, Ar. *ʿazaba.* [19] Cf. חַשְׁחוּת, Ezra vii. 20. A synonym of *xušaxxu* is *qalqaltum,* V. R. 11, 42–3ef. [20] See Lagarde, Arm. St. § 1825.

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ally of a dwelling; cf. Cyrus Cylinder, 23. It appears, however, V. R. 50, 45–6 in the sense of "overthrow". *Nirmû* means "foundation", II. R. 35, 44 e f.

21. i. כְּפִתוּ and רְמִיו, passives like גְּלִי and בְּרִךְ, ii. 19, *q. v.*

21. ii. סרבליהון is a doubtful word. LXX. translate "their shoes"; *Θ* and V.: "their trousers", which is probably correct. The word may be the same as the mod. Persian *šalwar* "trousers", used also in Turkish[21]. The Targumic סרבלא, however, means "tunic".

21. iii. פטישיהון *K'thîb* should be vowelled פְּטִישֵׁיהוֹן[22]. The *Q'rê* פַּטְּשֵׁיהוֹן is probably more correct. The exact meaning cannot be determined[23]. The garment may have been a sort of shirt-tunic which fell over the trousers(?)

21. iv. כרבלתהון, from which we have the Heb. כרבל, occurring only 1 Chron. xv. 17 used as partc. meaning "clothed". It may mean "cloaks", indicating the long cloak-like outer garment, similar to the modern *abba*. Behrmann makes it a derivative from כבל "to bind", but this is extremely doubtful.

22. i. הַסִּקוּ from סלק; cf. Hoph. הֻסַּק, vi. 24.

22. ii. שביבא די נורא, cf. vii. 9; also Job xviii. 5 and Assyr. *šibat išati* "flames of fire", K. 4361, c. i. 9, from *šabâbu* "burn", a synonym of *šamû*; see AW. p. 637. The Syr. *šabh* "burn", is clearly a variation of the same stem[24]. The Arabic شَبَّ "burn", however, with ش where we should expect to find س may be a loanform from the Syriac[25].

23. תְּלָתֵּיהוֹן, so Bär, Strack, Marti and Ginsburg; see Kamphausen, p. 22.

24. i. תְּוַהּ, ἅπ. λεγ., appears in the Targums as תוהא, Syr. ܬܘܗ, Ar. تاه, under all of which is the idea "to be in confusion", seen in the cognate Heb. תֹּהוּ "desolation".

24. ii. להדברוהי. The context shows plainly that this is

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[21] Cf. Ar. سِرْبَالٌ, pl. سرابيل "garment". [22] Kamphausen, p. 22.
[23] See, however, Behrmann, Bevan and Levy NHWB. [24] Barth, Etym. Stud. p. 50. [25] See, however, Bevan, p. 84; Behrmann, p. 23.

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intended to denote those who were in personal attendance on the king, possibly his counsellors (A. V.), or ministers. The term is most probably a Persian loanword ending in *-bar*, but its origin is obscure[26]. It is barely possible that we have here a later corruption of the Babylonian *itbaru* "friend, companion"; II. R. 28, 29e; 57–9; V. R. 42, 29f; but it is much more likely that the word has a Persian origin, like the majority of obscure expressions in Dan. i.–vii.

25. i. מַהְלְכִין, intransitive Haph'el, as in iv. 34. Some texts, however, read the Pa'el מְהַלְּכִין as in iv. 26, which seems a preferable emendation[27].

25. ii. חבל "injury"; so Kautzsch § 57a. It is undoubtedly cognate with the Assyrian *xibiltu*, "ruin, destruction", Sarg. Cyl. 4, from *xabâlu* "destroy"; cf. Heb. חבל, Job xxxiv. 31; Neh. i. 7.

27. i. לא שלט נורא. נורא is masculine here, but is usually employed as feminine. On the other hand, רוח is construed here as fem., as may be seen from the verb עדת. ריח is always masc., elsewhere, but it may be used as a feminine here on the analogy of the Heb. רוח. Ar. *riḥ* is also feminine.

27. ii. גשמיהון. The plural indicated by the *K^e^thîb* is correct.

28. התרחצו עלוהי "who trusted in him"; cf. רחץ על, common in T. This stem is clearly a cognate of the Assyrian *raxâçu* (pret. *irxuç*)[28] which is also construed with *eli*; cf. V. R. 5, 102: *eli šutti annîti ummânia irxuçu* "my troops trusted in that dream"; cf. also Ar. *raxaça* "to be gracious". This stem does not occur at all in Syriac.

29. קֳבֵל, cf. v. 16, and see p. 204 on ii. 10.

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[26] See v. Bohlen, Symbol. ad interp. s. cod. ex ling. Pers. p. 26, who suggests that it is a cognate of *hamdavār*, a theory refuted by Bevan, p. 85, n. 1. [27] Kautzsch, Gr. p. 58. [28] To be carefully distinguished from *raxaçu*, pret. *irxiç*, "to overflow, flood"; cf. Heb. רחץ "to wash".

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CHAPTER IV.

C. iii. 33 (3). עם דר ודר "from generation to generation". Several expositors have commented on this peculiar use of עם in the sense of "unto, during", e. g. "unto (during) generation and generation", which is found, for example, vii. 2, עִם־לֵילְיָא, but in Hebrew only *Ψ* lxxii. 5. We find עד, however, in precisely this construction *Ψ* c. 5; Is. xiii. 20, e. g. עד דור ודור, and there can be no doubt that there was a connection in the Semitic mind between the ideas "unto" and "together with". Thus, in Assyr. *adi* "unto" frequently usurps the place of *itti* "together with"; as *adi namkurrišunu*, Tig. iii. 7; Asurn. i. 85, *et passim.* On the other hand *itti* does not occur in the sense of "unto" like the Heb. and Aram. עם as well as the Arabic مع.

C. iv. 1 (4). i. בְּבַיְתִי. So Bär, but בְּבֵיתִי is better (Ginsburg and Marti).

1 (4). ii. רענן, *ἅπ. λεγ.* in Biblical Aramaic. It is most probably a Heb. loanword.

1 (4). iii. יבהלנני . . . . ידחלנני. For this use of the imperf. to express past action, see Bevan, p. 37. These imperfects are undoubtedly dependent on the perfect חזית, e. g. "I saw a dream, so that it terrified me", etc.

1 (4). iv. הנעלה. See on ii. 25, p. 207.

5 (8). ועד אחרָין, *Q^e^rê.* Kautzsch reads ועד אחרֵין (see Gr. § 61, 3), following the *K^e^thîb.* The difficulty is that the *K^e^thîb* merely represents another pronunciation for the *Q^e^rê*[1] and that אחרן־אחרין cannot mean "last" or "at last". J. D. Michaelis most probably hit upon the correct rendering when he changed וְעַד to וְעֹד reading וְעֹד אָחֳרָן and rendering: "and still another entered before me"; viz., Daniel[2].

6 (9). אָנֵס "oppresses, troubles"; *ἅπ. λεγ.* only in Esther i. 8 "compel". The stem is common in the Talmud.

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[1] For references, see Kamphausen, p. 23. [2] Followed also by Bevan, p. 90.

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8 (11). חזותה, also *v.* 17 (20), is commonly translated "its appearance", as if from חזה; cf. the Heb. חָזוּת, viii. 5[3]. As the word is parallel to רומַהּ "its height", we should expect it to mean "extent". Behrmann's suggestion, therefore, to read חֲזוֹרַהּ[4], which would have this meaning seems to be the best idea. It is probable that the original text, from which the version of *Θ* was made, had some such word; cf. his rendering *τὸ κυτὸς αὐτοῦ* "its size, expanse"[5].

9 (12). i. אנבה "its fruit". This is probably the original form of the word which is a derivative from a stem אנב "to spring, jump"; then, "sprout"; cf. Assyr. *inbu* "fruit"[6], IV. R. 57, 9a. A cognate of this is Assyr. *anâbu* "hare", e. g. "the jumping animal", I. R. Anp. iii. 135; Heb. ארנבת, Ar. أرنب, with ר inserted for a resolution of the doubling (ZB. p. 13). The form in the Targum, therefore, is secondary with Dagesh forte comp. for assimilation of the ן. The ן in אנבה is, therefore, probably not for a resolution of the doubling, as if the word were from אבב which appears in Assyr. as quite a different stem; as, for example, in the word *ebbu* "bright, shining" and in the verb: *belêšu ubbiba* "he polished his weapons", IV. R. 48, 1a. The Heb. אֵב "fresh verdure", Cant. vi. 11 is a cognate of this latter stem; cf. also אביב and Ar. أبّ.

9 (12). ii. מזון[7] "food"; cf also *v.* 18 and in Heb. Gen. xlv. 23; 2 Chr. xi. 23 and מיּזָנים, Jer. v. 8 "well nourished", from זון; cf. יִתְּזִין here. This stem appears in Assyr. as a reduplicated verb, *zanânu* "to support, care for"; cf. V. R. 40, 5ef, where the word *zâninu* is a synonym of *rêtum u mašqîtum* "food and drink".

9 (12). iii. תטלל; *ἅπ. λεγ.* in Biblical Aramaic. Uncontracted Haphʿels of reduplicated verbs occur very seldom in this

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[3] See Kautzsch, § 61, 4b. [4] Generally used in T. as an adverb, but see T. Ex. iii. 3. [5] For full discussion of the various suggestions, cf. Kamphausen, p. 24. [6] See Delitzsch, Prol. p. 114. [7] Cf. Nöldeke, Mand. Gr. p. 110, 3 on the prefix *mā*-.

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dialect. The ordinary causative of טלל in T. is the metaplastic Aphʿel אטיל.

9 (12). iv. The *Qᵉrê* יְדוּרָן, cf. *v.* 18, is unnecessary, but was undoubtedly suggested by the fact that צִפַּר like Heb. צִפּוֹר is usually feminine.

10 (13). עיר "messenger" (Heb. צִיר, Is. xviii. 2 with צ). The LXX. have correctly ἄγγελος. *Θ*, however, renders εἴρ, keeping the Aramaic expression, and both A. and S. translate ἐγρήγορος "a wakeful one", which was used later to denote a particular class of angels, e. g. the guardian spirits.

11 (14). i. אַתַּרוּ "cut off", Aph. of נתר, synonym of נבל T. *Ψ* i. 3, is cognate with the Mishnic נשר, Ar. نثر and the Assyr. ***našâru*** (ש1) "to diminish, cut off"; cf. AW. p. 487.

11 (14). ii. בדרו "scatter", cf. xi. 24 יבזור; *Ψ* lxviii. 31 (ז1). תְחֹתוֹהִי is a Hebraism for תְחוֹתוֹהִי, as in *v.* 18; see Kamphausen, p. 24.

12 (15). i. עִשַּׂב for עִשְׂבַּ; also *vv.* 20–3, following the Syriac; cf. Kautzsch, Gr. § 59, c.

12 (15). ii. יצטבע, also *v.* 20; cf. v. 21. צבע is possibly the same stem as we find in the Heb. אצבע, Assyr. ***çubbu*** "finger", e. g. "the dipping member" (?). We may compare Assyr. ***çebû*** "to dye", found for example, in the derivative ***çebûtum*** "***tinctio, immersio***", II. R. 30, 32f.; IV. R. 7, 41b. For ***çibû*** "to wish", see below on *v.* 14.

13 (16). i. לבבה "his intelligence". לב in Heb. is frequently used for the seat of intelligence; cf. 1 Kings x. 2; Eccles. vii. 22. ***Libbu*** in Assyr. also means "will, desire", as, for example, in the well known expression ***kî la libbi ilâni*** "against the will of the gods", Khors. 124.

13 (16). ii. מן אנושא. The *Qᵉrê* אנשא is more correct (see Kamphausen, Dan. p. 25). The *Kᵉthîb* is probably a Hebraism.

13 (16). iii. ישנן, used impersonally for the passive. For the connection of a change of heart or mind with insanity, cf. in Assyr. ***ušanna ṭênki*** "I will change thy understanding", e. g. "make thee mad", IV. R. 57, c. iii. 33; ***Ašur ṭênšu ušannina***

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"A. deprived him of understanding", V. R. 8, 6; also Ašurb. Sm. 119, 23. In Syriac ܫܢܝܐ means "a lunatic".

14 (17). i. עד דברת is undoubtedly a scribal error for על דברת; cf. Kautzsch, Gr. § 69, 10, Kamphausen, p. 25 and Hitzig, p. 65, etc.

14 (17). ii. יצבא from צבא "to wish"; also *v.* 22 (25) and vii. 19; cf. Assyr. *cibû* "to wish", I. R. Sarg. Cyl. 42, from which the derivatives *teçbîtu* "wish"; *çibûtu* "desire"; cf. Jensen, ZK. ii. pp. 26–7. *Çibûtu* is exactly the same form as צבו = צְבוּת, vi. 18.

14 (17). iii. אנשים with the Hebrew plural ending (cf. vii. 10, *K^e^thîb*, and Ezra iv. 13) is undoubtedly a scribal error; see Kautzsch, § 51, 2.

14 (17). iv. עליה. The *K^e^thîb* should be pronounced *ʿalaih*; see Kamphausen, p. 25.

15 (18). דנה חלמא. "This dream I have seen"; not, "this is the dream which I have seen". The demonstrative pronoun precedes the noun, as in Ezra v. 4, and the relative די is omitted here.

16 (19). i. כשעה חדה. שָׁעָה "a short time", like רגע in Ex. xxxiii. 5, translated by שעה in T. Onk[8]. The word is cognate with the Assyr. *šattu* "period of time"[9]. The meaning "hour", which appears in later Hebrew and Aramaic, is undoubtedly secondary[10].

16 (19). ii. יבהלך. Bevan[11] calls attention to the absence of the energetic infix *-in-* before the suffix in this form. This is more the custom of the Eastern Aramaic dialects, but the same peculiarity is seen in the W. Aramaic Têma Inscription in the form ינסחוהי[12].

19 (22). רביה must certainly be pointed רְבַיְתָ. The *Q^e^rê* רְבַת would be 3 p. fem. sg. and a wrong form at that, for it would

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[8] See p. 86. [9] Delitzsch, Prol. pp. 39ff.; AW. p. 632. [10] Cf. Levy, Neuhebr. Wörterbuch. [11] Dan. p. 93. [12] Cited Behrmann, Dan. p. 28.

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then have to be רְבָת, as it actually occurs in this verse. This is of course a textual error due to carelessness[13].

20 (33). ודי חזה. For this construction of די, cf. ii. 41; 43.

21 (24). מטית, *Kethîb*, is clearly an error. The *Qrê* מְטָת is correct. See Kautzsch § 47, g, 1, a.

22 (25). i. טרדין. The participle used for the Passive. טרד, which occurs also *vv.* 29–30 and v. 21, as well as in Heb. *Ψ* xix. 13; xxvii. 15, is cognate with the Assyrian *ṭarâdu* "drive away"; cf. *ina zumrišu liṭrud* "from his body may he drive it", IV. R. 15, 27b, *et passim.*

22 (25). ii. להוה. See above, p. 205 on ii. 20.

22 (25). iii. יטעמון. For טְעֵם, see on iii. i. The verb טְעֵם "to feed" occurs also iv. 29; v. 21. This meaning is not found in Assyrian except in the substantive *timtum* = *bubûtum* "food, nourishment", II. R. 43, 12d.

22 (25). iv. אנשא is used here collectively for "mankind", like אדם in Hebrew; cf., however, אנוש in *Ψ* viii. 5 and בן אנוש in *Ψ* cxliv. 3.

24 (27). i. לחן "therefore", see above on ii. 9.

24 (27). ii. מלכי "my counsel"; cf. in Heb. וַיִּמָּלֵךְ in the Niph., Neh. v. 7, and the Assyr. *milku* "decision, counsel": *la iššakanu milku* "no decision was taken", I. R. Rammannir. 6b. It is highly probable that the Semitic word for "king, prince", Aram. מַלְכָּא, Heb. מֶלֶךְ, Ar. مَلِك, Assyr. *malku,* is a derivative from this stem and originally meant "councillor", dating from the early nomadic time when the leader of the horde was the oldest man of *milku.*

24 (27). iii. פְּרַק "break off" seems to be correct here, as in Gen. xxvii. 40 and in Aboth iii. 5, where it is used of breaking or casting off a yoke. Some commentators, following *Θ* and V., render this by "redeem", a meaning seen, for ex., *Ψ* cxxxvi. 24; also in פורקן "redemption", T. Nu. iii. 46–8.

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[13] Kamphausen, p. 25.

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It cannot possibly mean "expiate sins", however, which would be the necessary application in this passage of Daniel.

24 (27). iv. עֲוָיָתָךְ (Bär) is better than עֲוָיָתָךְ; see Kamphausen, p. 25. The singular is probably עֲוָיְתָא; absol. עֲוָיָא.

24 (27). v. עֲנָיִן; cf. Kautzsch § 15, a; 57, a *β*, from sing. עֲנֵי; cf. Heb. עֲנָיִים, *Ψ* ix. 13; x. 12, xviii. 28, of which the Aram. word is no doubt an imitation.

24 (27). vi. הֵן תהוא ארכה לשלותך. ארכה can only be a derivative from ארך "to be long", Heb. אָרֵךְ "long". Ewald's substitution here of the punctuation אֲרֻכָה[14] (Is. lvii. 8) "healing" is not satisfactory, because אַרְכָה "length, duration" is established by Dan. vii. 12[15].

24 (27). vii. שלותך probably means "prosperity" and is not to be pointed שָׁלוּתָךְ "sins"[16]. It can certainly have no connection with the Assyr. *šalâṭū* "to rule", with ט as Meinhold suggests. He cites the form *salûṭu,* which has not been found in the inscriptions!

27 (30). i. בְּנֵיְתַהּ, so Ben-Asher, but some Mss. ״בֵּ. Ben Naphtali suggested בְּנֵיְתַהּ which is certainly correct; see Kautzsch § 15, e.

27 (30). ii. תְּקֵף; cf. תְּקֹף in the Received Text, and also in ii. 37, which would seem a more natural reading here. תְּקֵף, however, is generally considered to be correct; cf. Kamphausen, p. 26; Bevan, p. 95, etc.

28 (31). פֻּם; cf. Arabic فَمٌ. The ם here is probably the indication of an original nasalized final vowel[17]. The Assyrian *pû* "mouth" which appears without final *m* is similar in this respect to the Heb. פֶּה and the Arabic form فوهة.

30 (33). i. נשרין from נְשַׁר; cf. Heb. נֶשֶׁר and Assyr. *našru* "the great vulture" which is called *ašarid iççurâti* "the leader of the birds", I. R. Senn. iii. 68.

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[14] So Gr. Ven. *ἰατρεία*. [15] In this passage, Gr. Ven. translates correctly by *μᾶκος* (Doric for *μῆκος*) "length". [16] So P. [17] Against Barth, ZDMG. xli. pp. 633 ff., who sees an original stem פמו.

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30 (33). ii. טפרוהי, from טְפַר, is used also of the hoofs of quadrupeds, vii. 19; cf. Heb. צִפֹּרֶן, Deut. xxi. 12, of the human finger nail, and Assyr. *çupru*, of the human nail pressed on a seal, III. R. 48, nr. 4, 1 and of lions' claws V. R. 47, 21 b.

31 (34). i. בְּרְכֵת, incorrect punctuation for בָּרְכֵת. See Kautzsch, § 9, 4, c.

31 (34). ii. לחי עלמא; cf. xii. 7, חי העולם.

32 (35). i. כְּלָה should be כְּלָא. Aram. לא־לה, however, cannot possibly be regarded as a substantive meaning "nothing"[18]. It must be construed with the following חשיבין, e. g. כלא חשיבין "like those of no account"; cf. the Hebrew idiom לא־איש "one who is not a man", e. g. a supernatural being, Is. xxxi. 8; also in Assyr. *kî la-libbi ilâni*, Khors. 124, where *la-libbi* means "that which is against the desire".

32 (35). ii. ימחא בידה "smite his hand", e. g. "hinder him"; cf. Ar. ضرب على يده.

33 (36). הָתְקְנַת "I was established" is correct. If the reading התקנַת, found in most Mss., be adopted, it would be necessary with Marti to change על to עֲלַי, and to read ועלי מלכותי התקנת "and on me (for me) my kingdom was established"; cf. Kamphausen, p. 26.

34 (37). i. מרומם is a Hebraism.

34 (37). ii. מהלכין. See on iii. 25.

CHAPTER V.

1. עבד לחם, cf. עשה משתה, Eccles. x. 19; Gen. xxi. 8.

2. i. בטעם חמרא "at the command of the wine"; see p. 105 and on iii. 10, p. 214.

2. ii. למאני. מאן is probably a noun-form with prefixed מ from a stem $\sqrt{\text{אני–אנו}}$, like the Assyr. *unûtu* "vessel, furniture" Senn. vi. 57 and the Heb. אֳנִיָּה "ship".

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[18] So Θ and P.

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3. שגל, "the legitimate wife", — see Ψ xlv. 10, used in Neh. ii. 6, of the queen. According to Bar Ali (cf. Payne Smith, Thesaurus, p. 542, under *bĕlăthî*, Venus) the star Venus was called by the Babylonians *šᵉgăl wădilbat.* שגל was evidently a synonym, therefore, of *bĕlăthî* = *bêltu*, "Lady", a name of Ištar.

Hesychius also gives the form *Δελέφατ*, (i. e. Dilbat), as the Babylonian name of Ištar-Venus as the morning star. Dilbat seems to mean "the announcer", i. e. of morning or evening. See II. R. 7, 37, g. h.; *dilbat* = *nabû* "to tell, announce". In II. R. 48. 51, the star Dilbat is mentioned in the same paragraph with Sin (the moon) and Šamaš (the sun). For the goddess Ištar in her double capacity of morning and evening star, see Delitzsch-Mürdter, Geschichte, p. 29, and for the name of the place Dilbat, cf. Delitzsch, Paradies, p. 119.

5. i. נפקו—V. *apparuerunt.* The *Qᵉrê* נפקה is unnecessary, nor is there any need of reading נפקן fem. pl., according to an old codex [1]. The Semitic construction does not require that the verb and subject should agree. As to the possible survival of a feminine pl. in Hebrew, see J. P. Peters, Hebraica, iii., nr. 2. 111. That *û* and *â* were respectively the masculine and feminine third person pl. endings of the perfect is quite probable, if the existence of a perfect in primitive Semitic be granted. More than this it is very difficult to assert. We may compare in this connection the remarks of Dr. Cyrus Adler, Hebraica, iii. p. 268. See also p. 238 on vii. 8.

5. ii. נברשתא, *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.* Derivation uncertain. Syriac *nevraštā* "flame, lantern", from which the denominative *ethnevraš* 'illuminate"; Arabic, *nibras.* The Jerusalem Gemara translates it by למפדים. According to Ibn Ezra, נֶבְרַשְׁתָּא is the synonym of מְנוֹרָה, used of the great branching candlestick of the Tabernacle [2]. The Targum to Zephaniah i. 12, translates נֵר

[1] 118 K, cf. Bertholdt, p. 368, n. 5. [2] See Buxtorf, Lexicon, c. 1290 and Ex. xxv. 31 ff.; 1 Kings vii. 49, etc.

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by נברשתא. All authorities seem agreed that the word is of foreign origin. Cf. Bickell, Ephr. Carm. Nisib. 53, where a derivation from the Sanskrit *ni* + *bhrag*[3], "illuminate" is suggested. This is as unsatisfactory as the attempt of Bernstein, Lexicon, to derive it from נבר, shine, and אשתא, fire, or that of Sa'adia from נר־בר־שתא—light that shines through all the year. A Persian derivation (Fränkel, Fremdwörter p. 96) is hardly admissible, because the original Persian word has yet to be found. That the Arabic form *nibras* belongs to the older language is seen from Nâb. 27, 21; Jâkût. iv. 737, 7. No satisfactory etymology seems possible at present.

5. iii. גירא—"plaster, lime"; cf. Buxtorf, Lexicon, col. 425, for the Rabbinical definition: גיר מין קרקע המשחיר, *species terræ denigrantis*. The word is probably cognate with Assyrian, *qîru*, "pitch, mortar"; cf. Haupt, Nimrod Epos, 137, l. 66,—(the Deluge) *attabak ana qîri* "I poured out for caulking", or "pitching". The ideogram which is found in this passage with variant *ki-i-ri* is explained in the syllabary S^b 94. There is probably some connection with the Arabic قير "pitch", according to the theory of Haupt in Schrader's KAT.[2], p. 516, in spite of Jensen's doubt as to the meaning of the word (Kosmologie, p. 410). Lagarde connects it with Turkish, *kil*, "fuller's earth" (?).

5. iv. כתל "wall", from כֻּתְלַיָּא, cf. Ezra v. 8, is cognate with the Assyrian *kutallu* "side" Senn. vi. 28; I. R. 44, 55, etc.

6. i. זיוהי, see on ii. 31, p. 208.

6. ii. שנוהי. The termination has the force of a dative, as already Kranichfeld saw (Dan. p. 217). It is not the use of the suffix to express the pronominal ending and the preposition, as Kautzsch thought, (Gr. § 89, 2, as in *v.* 9 עלוהי; also vii. 28), nor is it reflexive (Lengerke, Dan. p. 248). The use of the suffix to express the dative relation occurs in Assyrian in such

[3] Also Behrmann, p. 32.

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a connection as ASKT. p. 80, 18: *ina isinni šaknuš* "at the feast made *for him*"; probably also *op. cit.* p. 80, 14: *Adar šarru mâru ša abašu ana rûqêtim appa ušalbinušu* "Adar the king, the son, *before whom* his father makes them worship far and wide". It is difficult to know if the suffix has a real dative force in cases like *amâtum ubakki,* IV. R. 30, 7, "I made the word come *to thee*"; *ina bîti â êrubšu,* ASKT. p. 93, 21, "may it not come into the house *to him*"; *op. cit.* p. 81, 14. *lummidsu* "may I erect *to him*", etc.

6. iii. חרצה. חרצא "the lower part of the back", cf. Heb. חלצים. See ZDMG. xl. p. 741.

7. i. הֶעְלָה, from עלל for הַעְלָה. See on vi. 15, מֶעָלֵי.

7. ii. ארגונא, Assyr. *argamannu* Ašurn. i. 88; c. iii. 68; "the darker purple scarlet" as opposed to *takiltu,* תְּכֵלֶת "the lighter purple red". Compare in this connection, Zehnpfund in BA. i. p. 507, on the different sorts of purple.

7. iii. המניכא, var. מנוכא, may be the same word as the Greek *μανιάκης* to which Polybius, II. 31, refers as a Gallic ornament: *τοῦτο δ'εστὶ χρυσοῦν ψέλλιον ὃ φοροῦσι περὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὸν τράχηλον οἱ Γαλάται.* Theodotion's translation has here *ὁ μανιάκης ὁ χρυσοῦς.* The word is probably originally Persian[4].

7. iv. תַּלְתִּי (in *vv.* 16, 29 תַּלְתָּא). The ordinary form of the Aramaic numeral is תליתי, cf. Daniel ii. 39. Hitzig (Daniel p. 81) read here תַּלְתַּי in order to connect it with תַּלְתָּא, but the form תַּלְתִּי can be an adjectival formation meaning "the third", like the Hebrew שָׁלִישִׁי "a third part", Num. xv. 6; Ezek. v. 12. תַּלְתָּא would then have to be considered as an abnormal st. emphat. of an absolute תַּלְתִּי (Kautzsch, p. 121). Bevan's idea is that תַּלְתָּא may be the Aramaic equivalent of the Arabic *ath-thilth* "every third day", and that תלתי in this verse may be an error due to a scribe who, not understanding תַּלְתָּא, read תְּלִתָי "third" (see his Commentary, p. 102). Such a view seems

[4] See Bevan, p. 101.

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highly improbable, as it would imply the interpretation that the reader of the mysterious writing should reign over the kingdom on alternate days with the king himself!

9. מִשְׁתַּבְּשִׁין. Cf. Assyrian *šabasu* "rage"; Asurb. c. iv. 88; c. vi. 108, and the substantive *šibsu*, Ašurn. ii. 106.

12. מפשׁר and משׁרא. It is simpler, in agreement with Bertholdt, Daniel, p. 378, n. 15, and Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, § 40, rem. 1, to read מִפְשַׁר and מִשְׁרֵא, infinitives, following V.: *Quia spiritus amplior . . . . et interpretatio somnorum et ostensio secretarum et solutio ligatorum inventae sunt in eo.* Bär and Delitzsch, however, read מְפַשַּׁר and מְשָׁרֵא (Liber Dan. p. 11) as participles, cf. *Θ*: *ὅτι πνεῦμα πλειστὸν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ φρόνησις καὶ σύνεσις ἐν αὐτῷ συγκρίνων ἐνύπνια καὶ ἀναγγέλλων κρατούμενα καὶ λύων συνδέσμους.* It should be noticed that if מְפַשַּׁר be read, this is the sole instance of the Pael of this stem in Biblical Aramaic. See Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 65, rem. 1.

13. אנתה הוא ד׳. This is not necessarily a question; see above p. 110.

16. תוכל; see on ii. 10, p. 204.

17. נְבָזְבִּיָתְךְ, but נְבִזְבָּה ii. 6. Both readings may be correct [5].

18. אנתה מלכא "Thou O King". This is a nom. absolute pointing forward to the suffix of אבוך. See ii. 29.

19. i. זאעין from √זוע, "to tremble". The same stem is seen in the Assyrian *zu*, "storm, bird of the storm"; see Zimmern, ZB. p. 94.

19. ii. דחלין מן קדמוהי "fearing before him"; cf. Assyr. *lapân ešrîti . . . aplaxma* "I reverenced (before) the shrines", Ašurb. c. x. 78; also I. R. 11. 14, etc.

19. iii. מַחֵא. Ptc. Haph'el of חֲיָא "to live". The older authorities considered it the participle of מְחָא "to strike", evidently reading here מָחֵא [6]. Thus, *Θ* translated *καὶ οὓς ἠβούλετο αὐτὸς ἔτυπτεν*, while V. has *percutiebat.* It is now generally accepted, how-

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[5] See Kamphausen, p. 28. [6] מָחֵא still appears in Hahn's Van der Hooght edition of the O. T. 1896.

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ever, that מַחֵא is correct and that this is the participle of חֲיָא "to live", as indeed the context plainly shows [7]. For this form מַחֵא of the Haphʿel ptc. of חֲיָא, we may compare the Syriac Aphʿel *axî*, with the participle *maxê*. Such forms are based on the analogy of the verbs *mediæ geminatæ*. Cf. Nöldeke, Syr. Gr., § 183, and the Aphʿel *abez*, partc. *mabez*, from the stem √בזז. מַחֵא is not, therefore, to be considered as representing an original מְחַיָּא, as Kautzsch thought (*op. cit.* p. 29)[8]. Such an analogy between חיא and the stems *mediæ geminatæ* found in the imperfect and in the Aphʿel of the verb in Syriac, is easily understood when it is remembered that the primitive form of חיא is חיו (*xăyĭwă*—intransitive) a trace of which is still found in the Arabic حَيَوَان "animal", and in the Aramaic חֵיוְתָא. This חיו became naturally חיי, which was itself a form עע. It is interesting to note here that Syriac Aphʿel forms like *abez*, partc. *mabez*, of עע verbs are in their turn based on the analogy of verbs פן. Thus, the Aphʿel of Syriac *nᵉfaq* is *appeq*, partc. *mappeq*. For analogy in the Semitic languages, in general, cf. Huizinga, Dissertation, Analogy in the Semitic Languages, Baltimore, 1891.

20. i. רִם is a perfect passive, a form like the Heb. intransitive מֵת.

20. ii. כָּרְסָא, from כרסיא, vii. 9; cf. Heb. כִּסֵּא, Assyr. *kussu*. It is possible that the word has a non-Semitic origin, as the Sumerian form is *guza*. The ר which appears in Aram. כרסא, כורסא and Phoen. כרסים was probably inserted to compensate for the resolution of the doubled ס. A similar phenomenon is seen in Assyr. *annabu* "hare", Heb. אַרְנֶבֶת; Ar. أَرْنَب and perhaps in *xaṭṭu* "sceptre", Heb. חֶרֶט [9].

20. iii. ויקרא, read ויקְרָה parallel with מלכותה. So P. and V.

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[7] See Bertholdt, Dan. p. 362, 19; Hävernick, p. 196 etc. [8] Cf. Nöldeke, GGA. 1884, p. 1018. [9] ZB. p. 13 (Haupt). See on אנבה, iv. 9, i. p. 220.

21. שְׁוִּיר. This reading as a passive like טריד is possible and, moreover, is indicated as the correct one by the old translators; *Θ* ἐδόϑη. Vers. Mass. τεϑεῖται, V. *positum est*, P. *ešt^ewē*. See also Lengerke, Daniel, p. 259; Hitzig, Daniel, p. 84. Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 81, however, reads here שַׁוִּיו, a third pers. pl. Pa'il, unnecessarily transferring the ו from the following word וְעִם[10]. For the use of this verb שוי with the preposition עם, cf. P. St. John v. 18, and in Hebrew the construction נמשל עם in *Ψ* xxviii. 1; *Ψ* cxliii. 7. In Hebrew the construction שוה כְּ is also found; cf. *Ψ* xviii. 34. A precisely equivalent usage is that of the Assyrian *emû kîma*; for which see AL.[3] Deluge, p. 183.

25. מְנֵא מְנֵא תְקֵל וּפַרְסִין. Clermont Ganneau was the first to understand the real meaning of מנא, חקל and פרס[11]. During an epigraphic mission to the British Museum in 1878, he found that the three letters on certain half mina weights which had previously been read קדש were in reality פרש *paras* "half". As the weight bearing the inscription was equal to that of half of a light mina, he concluded that פרש must mean "half mina"[12]. This discovery led him to decide that, on the set of Ninevitic weights engraved with letters approaching in form to the Aramaic characters, the three words מנא "mina", שקל "shekel" and פרש "half mina" were to be found and that these names might correspond to the three chief words in the mysterious sentence in Dan. v. The general conclusion at which he arrived was that the two extreme and essential terms of the phrase in Daniel are two names of weights, of which one is double the other, placed in relation by a third middle term which is either a third name of weight, that of shekel, or the verb "to weigh" from which the name of shekel is derived.

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[10] See, however, Kamphausen, p. 28. [11] JA. Ser. viii. *v.* 1 pp. 36 ff.
[12] Abr. Geiger remarked in an explanation of a Mishnic passage in ZDMG. xxi. pp. 467 ff. that the Tosephta regarded פרס in the phrase מנה מנה ופרס as "a half mina".

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This attempt of Ganneau was followed by an admirable paper published ZA. i. p. 414–418, by Theodor Nöldeke. Nöldeke accepted Ganneau's discovery that the phrase in Daniel contains names of weights, but clearly saw in תקל the shekel. He regarded מנא מנא as a repetition of the same word and accordingly suggested the translation "a mina, a mina, a shekel and half minas".

A third attempt to explain the enigma was made in 1887 by Georg Hoffmann of Kiel who differed from Nöldeke only in suggesting that תקל "shekel" might be in apposition to מנא, explaining מנא תקל as "a mina in shekel pieces".

It does not seem necessary, however, to regard מנא מנא as an accidental repetition of the same word. As Nöldeke himself noticed, but did not adopt in his interpretation, the first מנא may be regarded as a passive participle of the verb מנא "to count, to allot". In this case the Assyrian original would have been *manî*[13]. The verb "to count" is used in this sense also in Is. lxv. 12: ומניתי אתכם לחרב "and I will allot you to the sword"; Ψ cxlvii. 4: מונה מספר לכוכבים "he fixes the number of the stars".

The second מְנֵא seems to be the absolute of מַנְיָא mina (Heb.

[13] See, however, in this connection, Peters, JBL. xv. pp. 115–7. Passives with internal vowel change have not been lost in Assyrian, but are not developed. The active and passive participles are not yet sharply distinguished, the difference being merely arbitrary. For examples of the passive participle, cf. the frequent *kîma lâbirišu šaṭîr* "written like its original", and *šapûx êpru* "dust is spread". See Haupt, JRAS. 1878, p. 244. We may compare in this connection the frequent passive meaning of the intensive permansive. See ZB. p. 11. The Assyrian permansive must be considered the prototype of the common Semitic perfect, as there are no evidences that Assyrian once possessed and then lost its perfect. J. A. Knudtzon in the ZA. vii. p. 48 (April, 1892), goes too far, however, in demanding a common name for both the permansive and perfect, as they are by no means fully identical. The Assyrian permansive is not a stereotyped tense like the ordinary Semitic perfect, as the language can use any noun or adjective in a permansive sense by suffixing the pronominal endings. See in this connection Haupt, *loc. cit.*, p. 246.

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מְנֵה; Assyr. *manû*), which is of course a derivative from מנא "to count".

תְּקֵל is the absolute of תִּקְלָא "shekel" (Heb. שֶׁקֶל; Assyr. *šiqlu*[14]).

The last word פַּרְסִין may be a plural of פרש־פרס "half mina", in which case it should be punctuated פְּרָסִים. The Assyrian equivalent of this word would be *parsu* "part", from *parâsu* "to separate"[15]. *Parsu* means technically "a section of a chapter", or "paragraph"[16].

Combining then these words as in the Aramaic of Daniel, the supposed Babylonian original would be: —*manî manû šiqlu u parsâni.*

Both the Greek and Latin versions, in the reproduction of the mysterious sentence, read only the three words *mane, tekel, peres,* omitting one *mene* and giving *parsin* in the singular form *peres.* This reading may have been due to the influence of *vv.* 26–28, where only a single *mene* and the singular form *peres* are mentioned with *tekel* as being strictly necessary to the interpretation. P. is the only version which has kept the text intact: *manê mᵉnâ tᵉqêl wᵉpharsîn.*

It is interesting to notice that one version of the LXX., in disagreement in this point with the version of Theodotion, has transferred the words to *v.* 5 and changes their order, reading *mene, peres, tekel.* It seems possible that the copyist of the original manuscript from which this translation was made understood the real meaning of the words as names of weights and without seeing their special application to this passage, felt the necessity of a regularly decreasing enumeration[17]. The LXX., however, translate the three words: "numbered, taken away, weighed".

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[14] Cf. Meissner, ZA. vii. p. 20; Altbabylonisches Privatrecht, p. 93; Delitzsch, AW. p. 44 n. 4, and Lehmann in a metrological paper in Verhandlungen d. Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, 1891, p. 518, n. 1. [15] *Parâsu* "separate" in Asurb. ix. 46; "check, stop", Senn. vi. 14, IV. R. 57, 7a; "quarrel" in IV. R. 58, 22; "alienate", Asurb. iii. 83. [16] Bab. Chronicle vi. 39. [17] Cf. Hebraica iii. nr. 2, p. 36, n. 1 (Ganneau).

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30. בלאשצר. So Bär. Cf. also vii. 1; viii. 1. The correct reading is of course בלשאצר, as in v. 1; 22; 29.

CHAPTER VI.

3. i. עֵלָּא is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in Biblical Aramaic, but is used for "above" in Nabatæan; cf. Euting, Nab. Inschr. p. 28. מן here means "than"; "higher than"; cf. ארעא מן, ii. 39.

3. ii. סרכין, also in *vv.* 5; 7; 8, occurs in T. in the sing. סָרֵךְ. It is probably a loanword from some Persian derivative of *sar* "head" and means "a chief". Behrmann, however, considers it to be Semitic[1]. The word is used in T. to translate שטרים "writers" or overseers"; cf. Ex. v. 6, etc. The author of Daniel seems to have used סרכין in the sense of "general overseers" or "ministers".

3. iii. טעמא . . . . . יהבין "give account". For טעם "account", cf. Ezra v. 5 (see above pp. 214–5 for other meanings). The construction with יהב is unusual; cf., however, T. Prov. xxvi. 16.

3. iv. נָזִק "injured"; cf. Heb. נֵזֶק "injury", Esther vii. 4. The Assyr. stem *nazâqu* "injure" is an exact cognate with this root; cf. the derivatives *niziqtu*, V. R. 31, 29 gh and *nazâqu* "injury", III. R. 65, 15; 32 a.

4. עֲשִׁית is a passive participle from עשת "think", used only here in Biblical Aramaic. Compare, however, יִתְעַשֵּׁת, Jon. i. 6 and עֶשְׁתּוּת, "thought", Job xii. 5[2].

5. i. עִלָּא "cause, pretext"; ἅπαξ λεγόμενον; only in *vv.* 5–6. This is an exact synonym of αἰτία in the N. T. The word is construed here as the object of להשכחה, which is dependent on the preceding בעין.

5. ii. מִצַּד "concerning". צד in vii. 25 means "against"; cf. in Heb. Dt. xxxi. 26. The ordinary form of the preposition in Aramaic is צִיד.

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[1] Dan. p. 38. [2] Nöldeke, GGA. 1884, p. 1019; Syr. Gr. § 280.

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6. דָּת here means "religion"; cf. vii. 25 and see on ii. 13, p. 67.

7. הרגשו על. For this use of על for לְ (Heb. אֶל), cf. ii. 24. The same usage prevailed in later Hebrew; cf. Jer. xxvi. 16.

8. i. לקימא קים מלכא "to establish a royal decree or statute". So *Θ*. קים is clearly a construct dependent on מלכא, which is used adjectivally as in אסר מלכא, *v.* 13. The Masoretic punctuation, which necessitates the difficult rendering "that the king should establish a statute" is probably incorrect[3].

8. ii. אסר "prohibition"; cf. אִסָּר, Nu. xxx. 13.

8. iii. גב, emph. גֻּבָּא "pit"; cf. Heb. גֵּב "cistern"; Assyr. *gubbu* "well", Asb. viii. 102. גב is used in T. as the equivalent of Heb. בור.

8. iv. אַרְיָוָתָא, pl. of אַרְיֵה, vii. 4. A singular form corresponding to this plural is given by Merx, Chrestomathia Targumica, p. 172, e. g. אַרְיָוָא.

11. מן קדמת דנה, cf. Ezra v. 11.

14. דִּי is used here four times; cf. ii. 25 and see Kamphausen, p. 29.

15. i. באש עלוהי "displeased him". With על like שפר על "please", iv. 34. באש in Heb. means "to be bad", especially with respect to smell and is cognate with Ar. بَاْسَ and Assyr. *bu'ušu* "to cause to stink", V. R. 45 c. iii. 7; cf. *bi'šu* "stinking, bad", II. R. 44, 12 cd.

15. ii. שָׂם בָּל is practically synonymous with שָׂם טְעֵם; cf. Heb. שים לב, 1 Sam. ix. 20. בָּל, which does not occur elsewhere in Jewish Aramaic, is undoubtedly a cognate of Ar. بَالٌ "heart".

15. iii. מֵעַלֵּי. So Bär, following M., but see Kautzsch, Gr. § 60, 3b. It should be מֶעָלֵי. The word, which is a derivative of עלל, was probably originally *מַעָלֵי and the *pathach* became *seghol* before ע like הֶעָלָה for הַעָלָה, v. 7[4].

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[3] So Hitzig, Rosenmüller and Meinhold. [4] Nöldeke, GGA. 1887, p. 1020 and Bevan, p. 111.

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15. iv. משתדר from שדר, from which אֶשְׁתַּדּוּר "rebellion", Ezra iv. 15, occurs also as שדל[5]. A similar interchange of ר and ל is seen in the later Persian form *Babiru* for *Babilu* "Babylon".

17. בתדירא. A derivative from דור "revolve". That it must mean "continually" is seen from T. Nu. xxviii. 6, where it is the equivalent of Heb. תמיד. It can have no connection with שדר, as Kautzsch thought[6].

18. i. הֵיתָיִת. A passive perfect Haph'el, as in iii. 13.

18. ii. For the un-Aramaic form שָׂמַת, read שָׂמַת, but not *plene* שָׂימַת[7]; cf. רָם, v. 20.

19. i. בת טְוָת "spent the night in a state of fasting". טְוָת, which is retained by P., although it does not occur at all in Syriac, is a form like קְצָת from a stem טוא "to roll, spin", generally found in the Aph'el; cf. in Heb. טָווּ, Ex. xxxv. 25–6. The Assyrian cognate is *ṭamû*, IV. R. 8, 28–9 b. The meaning "fasting", found here in Daniel seems to have developed from the idea of the contraction of the intestines from hunger, e. g. *convolutus, scl. visceribus*[8].

19. ii. דַּחֲוָן, from *דַּחֲוָה. The meaning is not clear. *Θ* and P. translate "food"; the Rabbinical commentators render it "musical instruments of percussion", as if from דחא "push, thrust". Others consider that it means "concubines", deriving it from the same stem. This translation is probably correct, but the word should be read לְחֵנָן (so Marti).

19. iii. שנתה נדת עלוהי. See on ii. 1.

20. נגהא ...... שפרפרא. It is probable that neither expression is a gloss[9], but that נגהא supplements and intensifies the more general שפרפרא.

22. מלל עם; Heb. דִּבֶּר אֶל.

23. זכו "purity"; cf. Heb. זכה; Assyr. *zakû* in *mê attalxu ul izakkû* "the waters which I disturbed are not pure", K. 257, Obv. 25–6; also adj. *zakû* "pure, clear, free".

[5] Nöldeke, ZDMG. xl. p. 735. [6] Gr. § 60, nr. 6. [7] Kautzsch, Gr. § 45, 1, d. [8] So Behrmann, p. 42. [9] See Kamphausen, p. 30.

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24. i. טְאֵב עֲלוֹהִי. For על see above on *v.* 15. טְאֵב seems to be formed on the analogy of בְּאֵשׁ. The regular stem is טוב and not טאב.

24. ii. הנסקה resolution of הַסְּקָה (cf. הנעלה, iv. 3), for an original הסלקה; cf. iii. 22.

25. ארעית "bottom", from ארע, ii. 39.

29. הצלח is intransitive here as in Ezra v. 8. In iii. 30, however, it is transitive.

CHAPTER VII.

1. ראש מלין, cf. Ψ cxix. 160: ראש דברך.

2. i. אֲרוּ, only in this chapter. The ordinary form is אֲלוּ; see *v.* 8 and on ii. 31.

2. ii. עם ליליא. See on iii. 33 (iv. 3).

2. iii. מגיחן, from גיח, is probably transitive "stirring up the great sea", as in T. Gen. xxi. 10: ויגח קרבא עם יצחק "he will stir up war with Isaac"[1].

4. i. גַּפִּין, from גַּף "wing", cf. T. Job xxxix. 13 גדפא, from גדף "fly", Ar. جدف[2]. The Assyrian *gappu* "wing", IV. R. 16, 65–6 is a cognate of this word.

4. ii. הֳקִימַת, a regular Aramaic Hophʿal form; cf. Kautzsch § 45, 3; 5.

5. i. דב "bear"; cf. Heb. דֹּב. The Assyr. *dabû* "hog", although not from precisely the same stem, may be a cognate; Senn. Const. i. 35.

5. ii. הֲקִימַת must be changed to the Hophal הֳקִימַת as in *v.* 4: "and it was raised up". See Kautzsch § 45, 3; 5 and Kamphausen, p. 31.

6. i. בתר. So Bär. Better באתר; see Kamphausen *loc. cit.*

6. ii. נמר "leopard"; Heb. נָמֵר, Ar. نَمِرٌ, Assyr. *nimru*, IV. R. 5, 17–18.

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[1] See Levy, Chald. Wörterb. [2] Nöldeke, GGA. 1884, p. 1019.

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6. iii. גַּבִּיהּ (*Q*ᵉ*rê* גַּבַּהּ) is probably plural and should be translated "sides"[3]. Assyr. *gabbu* "part of a sacrificial animal" may be a cognate; Str. III. 247, 3. The stem of גב is גנב, Ar. جَنْبٌ.

7. i. אימתני for אימתנית, like אחרי. It is a fem. absolute state of אֵימְתָן.

7. ii. מַדֱּקָה Haph. ptc. דקק. This reading is correct.

7. iii. רפסה "stamped" from רפס, cf. Heb. רפש; Assyr. *rapâsu* "crush in pieces, thresh", V. R. 17, 27–29 cd; cf. *narpusu* "threshing sledge", V. R. 17, 32 cd.

8. i. זְעֵירָא, clearly a diminutive like the Heb. זְעֵיר; Is. xxviii. 10; 13; Ar. *kutaib*; see Ols. Gr. § 180.

8. ii. סלקת, so Bär; not סִלְקַת; see Kautzsch § 25 b.

8. iii. אתעקרו. The fem. form of the *Q*ᵉ*rê* אתעקרה is unnecessary, as a common gender is peculiar to the Biblical Aramaic. See on v. 5.

9. i. רמיו, cf. on iii. 20. רמא is used of placing a throne also T. Jer. i. 15.

9. ii. עתיק יומין, cf. בא בימים. Jos. xiii. 1.

9. iii. שבבין. See on iii. 22, p. 217.

10. i. אלפים. The Aram. אלפין of the *Q*ᵉ*rê* is correct, see p. 222, on iv. 14, iii; אנשים.

10. ii. רִבְוָן, which should be רִבְּוָן, is pure Aramaic and the *Q*ᵉ*rê* רבבן is merely an unnecessary Hebraism[4].

11. On the text of this verse, see Kamphausen, p. 31. It does not seem necessary, according to some commentators, to consider that the first חזה הוית is an erroneous repetition of the second. M. is probably correct.

12. i. הֶעְדִּיו is a circumlocution of the passive perf. "had been taken away".

12. ii. אַרְכָה is a substantive "prolongation"; cf. on iv. 24.

13. בַּר אֱנָשׁ, cf. בְּנֵי אביון, Ψ lxxii. 4; also בני ישראל, etc.

15. i. אִתְכְּרִיַּת from כרא, cf. Kautzsch § 47, rem. 2. The

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[3] So Bevan and Behrmann. [4] See Kamphausen, p. 31.

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Assyrian *karû* "to cause trouble, pain, or grief" is clearly a cognate; cf. V. R. 2, 54; also *kuru* "trouble", IV. R. 59, nr. 1, 15b; ZB. p. 92, n. 1.

15. ii. רוחי אנא דניאל, cf. also viii. 1; 1 Sam. xxv. 24, for the pronoun construed with the suffix.

15. iii. נִדְנֶה from *נדן. So Bär. The same word appears in Heb., 1 Chron. xxi. 27 with the meaning "sheath". It should probably be punctuated here נִדְנַהּ "its sheath", e. g. "my spirit was troubled in the midst of *its sheath*"[5]. The word is of Persian origin.

17. אִנִּין, fem. is better here than the masc. אִנּוּן.

18. i. קַדִּישֵׁי עליונין. This is a strange expression, because in iv. 10, קדיש is used of an angel. The author seems to wish to emphasize here the divine character of the Israelitish people. As they were the holy ones of the Most High (עֶלְיוֹן), he calls them by a slight turn of expression "the most high holy ones", e. g. those pertaining to the Most High, using עליון adjectivally. The unusual plural of the word is to be explained in this way. It is not a plural of majesty. עליון is of course not Aramaic, which would be עִלָּיָא; cf. iv. 14; 21.

18. ii. יַחְסְנוּן, Haph. of חסן; see on ii. 37, p. 210.

18. iii. עד עלמיא is omitted by LXX. and Θ; see Kamphausen, p. 32.

19. צבית "I desired"; see on iv. 14, p. 222.

20. וקרניא דכן ועינין "and (as for) this horn, it had eyes". The ו in ועינין is the explanatory copula, as in viii. 10; 24.

25. i. לצד "against"; see on vi. 5.

25. ii. יְבַלֵּא "destroy"; cf. Assyr. *balû* in *napšataš uballi* "He destroyed their life", AW. p. 174.

25. iii. דָּת, cf. on ii. 13; vi. 6.

26. יִתִּב is the Peʿal impf. of יְתִב and *not* a contracted Ithpe'el[6].

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[5] See also Kamphausen for other views. See Kamphausen, p. 32.

[6] So Behrmann, p. 32.

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27. יהיבת is a vivid perfect with the sense of a future perf. "shall have been given".

28. וזיוי ישתנון עלי, cf. v. 9.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. i. For the form בלאשצר, see on v. 30, p. 234.

1. ii. נראה אלי אני דניאל. See on vii. 15, ii; p. 239.

1. iii. בתחלה "before"; cf. Gen. xli. 21; Is. i. 26. A better expression would be בראשנה, 1 Kings xx. 9.

2. i. הבירה, a late Hebrew expression, is probably a loanword through the Syriac from the Assyr. *birtu* "fortress", I. R. Ašurn. ii. 129. It is used Neh. ii. 8 of the Temple stronghold and has passed into the Greek of LXX. in the form *βάρις* as a word for fortress ארמון. In Jos. Ant. xv. 11, 4 *βάρις* is used, as in Nehemiah, especially to denote the Temple as the fortress and palace of Jhvh.

The classical Greek word *βάρις* "a flat-bottomed boat used in Egypt", Her. ii. 41; 96; 179; *βάρβαροι βάριδες*, Eur. i. A. 297, has probably no etymological connection with the *βάρις* of LXX. and Jos., but may be an Egyptian loanword. It is interesting to notice, however, that the Scholiast on Æschylus Pers. 554 knew of the other usage of the word, as he adds the comment that *βάρις* "boat" is from *βάρις*, which is a Persian city!

2. ii. עילם is the Heb. form of Assyr. *Elamtu,* a fem. formation from *elammu* "highland".

2. iii. אוּבַל "bank" is evidently connected with יבלי מים, Is. xxx. 25; xliv. 4 and with יוּבַל "canal", Jer. xvii. 8. Whether or not it is connected with the Assyr. *ubbal,* the present of *abâlu* "bring" (so Jensen), is very doubtful.

3. i. איל אחד "a ram". For איל, cf. Assyr. *alu* "stag", II. R. 6, 11 cd. אחד is plainly the indefinite article as in viii. 13; 1 Kings xix. 4, and even in the older books, 1 Sam. i. 1.

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3. ii. קְרָנַיִם and קַרְנָיו (*v.* 7) for the dual punctuation קַרְנָיו, קַרְנַיִם.

4. i. ינגח. The Pi'el of נגח is used also 1 Kings xxii. 11; 2 Chr. xviii. 10, in the sense of overthrowing enemies.

4. ii. הִגְדִּיל (*scl.* לעשות). Hitzig and Meinhold translate "became great" as in our own A. V., but the rendering "did great things" is better; cf. *v.* 10; *vv.* 24ff., where his great acts are described.

5. i. צפיר is a late Hebrew word for עתוד, cf. *vv.* 8; 21; Ezra viii. 35; 2 Chr. xxix. 21. The stem is probably cognate with Ar. ضَفَرَ "jump, spring" with ص₃ as in وَضُو, יצא.

5. ii. קרן חזות = קרן מראה as in 2 Sam. xxiii. 21 *Qᵉrê*. See Kamphausen, p. 32 on חָזוּת; also *v.* 8.

6. בחמת כחו "in the fury of his power". For חמה "fury", cf. Is. lxvi. 15.

7. i. אצל after a verb of motion, as in Gen. xxxix. 10. מגיע אצל is more vivid than the ordinary usage with עד.

7. ii. ויתמרמר אליו. A late Hebrew form; also in xi. 11. See Bevan, p. 30.

8. ותעלנה חזות ארבע. This text can hardly be correct, although von Lengerke, Ewald and Behrmann endeavour to translate it as it stands. Grätz and others read אֲחֵרוֹת instead of חזות, following LXX. ἕτερα, which makes both better sense and grammar; viz., "and there arose others, e. g. four, in place of it toward the four winds of heaven"[1].

9. i. מצעירה is undoubtedly corrupt. Instead of אחת מצעירה, we should read with Bevan, p. 13, קֶרֶן אחרת צעירה, following vii. 8. The only objection to this theory is that the אחת of M. appears in both the Greek versions; ἕν, which might only show, however, that the error was very ancient. See on this passage Kamphausen, p. 33.

9. ii. הצבי = ארץ הצבי, xi. 16; 41. It is possible that we have here a paronomasia with צבא of the next verse, i. e. glory — host of heaven. The LXX. wrongly read צפון.

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[1] See Kamphausen, pp. 32—33.

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10. i. מן הצבא. Partitive מן, as in Ex. xvii. 5; מזקני ישראל.

10. ii. ומן הכוכבים. This is the explanatory copula "namely, of the stars", as in vii. 20; see above p. 239.

11–12. This text as it stands defies interpretation. The difficulty really lies in the change of gender between this *v.* 11 and *vv.* 9–10; 12. The text of *vv.* 11–12 should perhaps be amended as follows: 11 וְעַד שַׂר הַצָּבָא הִגְדִּילָה וּמִמֶּנּוּ הֻרַם הַתָּמִיד וְהֻשְׁלַךְ מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ: 12 וּצְבָאָהּ נִתַּן עַל הַתָּמִיד בְּפָשַׁע וְתַשְׁלֵךְ אֱמֶת אַרְצָה וְעָשְׂתָה וְהִצְלִיחָה:

"And even unto the prince of the host it (fem. the horn) exalted itself and from him (the prince of the host) was taken away the daily offering and the place of his (masc. the prince's) Sanctuary was cast down. And its (fem. the horn's) host was appointed against the daily offering on account of iniquity. And it (the horn) will cast down truth to the earth, and will undertake and carry out successfully". It should be remembered that in *v.* 11 the fem. word "horn" was probably the subject of הגדיל, which must therefore have lost an original final ה, perhaps by dittography with the following ו. The unnecessary assumption of a change of gender here with the word "king" understood as being the subject of some of the verbs and the fem. קרן of others is what has caused all the confusion.

If the above translation be accepted, the *Q^erê* הֻרַם must be read instead of the *K^ethîb* הֵרִים. In צבא תנתן of M. (12) the ת probably stands for an original ה which formed the suffix of צבא, e. g. צְבָאָהּ "its host (the horn's)", in contrast to the host of Israel in *v.* 11. I cannot agree with Moore in rejecting צבא. נתן should then become נִתַּן Niph. in accordance with Kamphausen's suggestion, p. 33[2].

For other views, see Bevan, p. 133; Behrmann, p. 54; Kamphausen, p. 33; Moore, JBL. xv. pp. 193–7.

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[2] נתן על is used of punishing sins 2 Kings xviii. 14; Jonah i. 14; Ezek. vii. 3.

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13. פַּלְמוֹנִי can only be the result of an erroneous scribal contraction of פלני אלמוני which perhaps arose from the writing פ׳׳ אלמוני. A cognate with פלני is the Assyr. reduplicated form *pulpul* "a certain one", frequently occurring in the legal phrase *pulpul mar pulpul* "A. the son of B."[3]; cf. also Ar. فلان.

The extremely difficult text of this verse should perhaps be revised as follows:—וְעַד מָתַי חָזוֹן הַתָּמִיד וְהַפֶּשַׁע הַשֹּׁמֵם תֵּת · וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא לְמִרְמָס:

"For how long is the vision of the daily offering and of the devastating transgression? (For how long shall there be) a giving over both of the Sanctuary and the host to trampling?" The question is thus divided into two clauses, each reverting to עד מתי. It seems better to read here finite verb-forms, which can be done without any radical alteration and not attempt with some commentators[4] to introduce extra words into the text following the corrupt version of LXX. The sentence can be made intelligible to the reader with only three minor changes; viz., the deletion of the ה in M. החזון, which may have arisen from a dittography with the preceding ו, the insertion of ה before the Pilpel participle שֹׁמֵם = מְשֹׁמֵם, and the introduction of ל before מרמס.

For the idiom נתן למרמס, cf. נתן למשסה "to give over to destruction", Is. xlii. 24, and for other views on the passage in general see the commentaries already referred to under the preceding verse.

15. i. בראתי אני ד׳׳, cf. vii. 15.

15. ii. גבר is evidently a paronomasia with the following גבריאל.

15. iii. קול אדם "a human voice" like בן אדם "a human being".

16. i. גַּבְרִיאֵל "man of God" with the relic of the gen. ending as in פְּנִיאֵל.

16. ii. הַלָּז, also Ju. vi. 20; Zech. ii. 8, is the abbreviated form of הַלָּזֶה, cognate of the Ar. relative الذى.

[3] See Haupt, BA. i. p. 114. [4] Bevan, p. 135; see also Kamphausen, p. 33.

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17. i. חבן ל "instruct" is unusual, cf. Job vi. 24. It is generally found with את, as Neh. viii. 9.

17. ii. עָמְדִי, also *v.* 18 from עֹמֶד "place", is a late Hebraism which occurs also x. 11; Neh. viii. 7; 2 Chr. xxx. 16.

17. iii. חבן בן אדם "Give attention, O human being". This usage of בין is peculiar to the Qal, Ψ xciv. 7 and to the Hiph. Is xxix. 16.

18. נרדמתי. This stem generally means "to lie in a deep sleep", Pr. x. 5; Jon. i. 5; cf. תַּרְדֵּמָה. In our passage, however, it evidently means "to faint, swoon", as in x. 9; Ψ lxxvi. 6.

21. i. השעיר "the hairy one"; not an adj. "hairy", qualifying צפיר. For this expression, cf. שעיר העזים, Gen. xxxvii. 31 and the Assyr. cognate *šartu* "hair", especially of a goat, in IV. R. 5, 32f–34fc; *šarat unîki*.

21. ii. מלך יון; cf. Assyr. *Yamanu* (with middle *m* pronounced like *w*); O. P. *Yaunâ* and Ar. يُونَانِىّ. All these expressions are of course variations of *Ἰωνία*[5].

22. i. מגוי should probably be מגויו "out of his nation", following LXX.

22. ii. יעמדנה is really an archaic form; cf. Ar. يَقْتُلْنَ. It is probably wrong here and should be read תעמדנה[6].

23. כהתם הפשעים. It is not necessary either to change התם to תם, Gall, p. 49; Behrmann, p. 57, nor with Meinhold and Ewald to alter פֹּשְׁעִים to פְּשָׁעִים, following the versions[6].

24. i. נפלאות is not the object, as in xi. 36, but is used adverbially "wonderfully", as in Job xxxvii. 5.

24. ii. ישחית. Bevan, inspired thereto by Grätz, who pronounces this passage suspicious, wishes to read for ישחית, ישחח or ישׂיח, which seems unnecessary.

25. i. ועם קדשים ועל (25) שכלו. Grätz and Bevan, following LXX. *καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁγίους τὸ διανόημα αὐτοῦ*, suggest the reading ועל קדשים שכלו. It does not seem advisable, however,

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[5] See above pp. 78—9. [6] See Kamphausen, p. 34.

to introduce a radical textual alteration like this, where it is possible to explain the received text satisfactorily. The probability is that the ו in ועם קדשים is the explanatory copula, as in *v.* 10; vii. 20.

25. ii. בשלוה; also x. 21; 24. This word means "peace" everywhere else in the O. T. thus, Ψ cxxii. 7; Pr. i. 32; xvii. 1; Jer. xxii. 21; Ezek. xvi. 49. In Daniel it undoubtedly means "suddenly, unawares" like the Syriac ***men shelyā.*** It is a synonym of the Greek *ἐξάπινα* in 1 Macc. i. 30 where the same event is mentioned.

27. i. נהייתי ונחליתי as it stands may mean "I became ill", the two verbs being co-ordinated: "I became and I was ill (?)". As the meanings "became"[7] in such a construction or "fainted, was finished" for נהיה are doubtful[8] and as the LXX. disregards נהייתי here as well as the following ו[9], it is perhaps better to cancel it entirely and read simply נחליתי. נהייתי may have arisen as an erroneous dittography for the following נחליתי.

27. ii. ואין מבין. This phrase must refer to the 1 p. subject of ואשתומם "and I was astonished .... and was no understander (thereof)"; cf. xii. 8: ואני שמעתי ולא אבין.

CHAPTER IX.

1. i. אחשורוש is a corruption of the original Persian ***Khshayarsha*** = Xerxes, lit. "eye of the kingdom". The form of the name in the Aramaic inscriptions is חשירש; cf. CJS. pt. 2, p. 125.

1. ii. המלך. Hoph. only here in the O. T.

2. i. בינתי "I understood, perceived". This is probably an irregular Qal perfect form like בין for בן in x. 1. The only

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[7] See references quoted p. 200, נהיה = happen. [8] See on ii. 1, p. 200. [9] This in itself is of course not a sufficient reason, as Θ translated נהייתי by *ἐκοιμήθην* "I fell asleep, fainted".

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parallel case in Heb. is ריבות, Job xxxiii. 13. Neither בינתי nor בין can possibly be shortened forms of the Hiph.[1] as the older commentators thought[2].

2. ii. מלאות really a ל"ה infin. Piʿel for the regular לְמַלֵּא. In late Hebrew the verbs ל"א show a marked tendency to assimilate themselves to the ל"ה paradigm; cf. Siegfried u. Strack. Neuheb. Gr. § 97 c.

5. On מִמִּצְוֹתֶךָ without pl., see Kamphausen, p. 35.

6. אַל without Maqqeph as in Is. xxxvi. 12. For the textual differences between the versions of Bär and Ginsburg, see Kamphausen, p. 35.

9. i. סליחות. The singular סליחה occurs Ψ cxxx. 4 and the plural in Neh. ix. 7.

9. ii. כי is concessive here "although", as the translators of the A. V. correctly saw; cf. Ex. xiii. 17.

11. וַתִּתַּךְ from נתך; cf. *v.* 27, used of pouring out wrath also 2 Chron. xii. 7; xxxiv. 25; Jer. xlii. 18; xliv. 6.

13. את כל הרעה הזאת. Although this is most probably the subject of the following verb באה, it is also attracted by the preceding passive participle כתוב, so that it receives the sign of the accusative את as the subject of a passive. את כל הרעה may be construed both as the subject of באה and of כתוב[3].

17. i. שָׁמֵם "desolate" occurs also Jer. xii. 11; Lam. v. 18. It was probably used purposely in order to connect the desolate Sanctuary with הפשע השמם "the desolating transgression" in viii. 13 which was the cause of the Sanctuary's condition, and also with the שקוץ ש" in *v.* 27 and xii. 11 which described the sacrilegious act of Antiochus Epiphanes.

17. ii. למען אדני. Although it would be possible with Hitzig, p. 150, to retain the text here on the analogy of Gen. xix. 24, where the proper name is used instead of the personal pronoun,

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[1] Cf. Nöldeke, ZDMG. xxxvii. pp. 525 ff. [2] So Hitzig, p. 145.
[3] See also Bevan, p. 151, who quotes 1 Kings ii. 21, but cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, Gr.[26] § 117. 1. Behrmann, p. 61 makes את כל הרעה depend on לחביא in *v.* 12; cf. Kamphausen, p. 33.

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the combination seems a harsh one. The LXX. read here *ἕνεκεν τῶν δούλων σου*, e. g. למען עבדיך which Bevan, p. 151, proposes to accept. The simplest emendation, however, and probably the correct one is that of *Θ* who reads *ἕνεκέν σου Κύριε*, למענך אדני "for Thine own sake, O Lord". Behrmann's idea that this is a gloss (p. 61) is quite without foundation.

18. i. פְּקָחָה *Qᵉrê* is preferred by most commentators to the shorter *Kᵉthîb* פקח [4].

18. ii. מפילים תחנונינו. For this idiom, cf. Jer. xxxviii. 26, which is an extension of the Qal usage; cf. Ju. xxx. 7.

21. i. בַּתְּחִלָּה. See above, p. 240 on viii. 1.

21. ii. מֻעָף בִּיעָף. These words have been explained by some commentators [5] as being derivatives from יעף, viz., the Hophal מֻעָף = מוּעָף, or from a noun יְעָף like יְקָר, neither of which forms, however, occurs elsewhere. Moreover, the stem יעף never means "to hasten", but always "to be weary" as in Is. xl. 28. The probability is that we really have here derivatives of עוף "to fly" which can also mean secondarily "to proceed with great rapidity". Thus, it is used tropically of the swift march of an army, Is. xi. 14 and of the progress of a fleet, Is. lx. 8. If the text of M. be retained, מעף may be regarded as the Hoph. of עוף [6], while ביעף should perhaps be cancelled entirely as an erroneous dittography from מעף; cf. *Θ πετόμενος* "flying", with no qualifying adverb. As the Hoph., however, is a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* and therefore seems to be a somewhat unnatural usage for the Qal or Pilpel [7], it may not be out of place to suggest that מעף ביעף of M. is a corruption of an original Pilpel participle מעופף, as in Is. xiv. 29. The reading of LXX. *τάχει φερόμενος* does not necessarily prove the existence of the obscure ביעף, but may have been simply a free rendering of מעופף as applied to an angel, e. g. not "flying", but "hastening, rapidly" [8].

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[4] See Kamphausen, p. 35; Hitzig, p. 151; Behrmann, p. 63. [5] So Hitzig, p. 151; Hävernick; von Lengerke, etc. [6] So Behrmann, p. 62. [7] Cf. Gesenius, Thes. p. 610. [8] See on this passage Kamphausen, p. 36.

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21. iii. נָגַע אֵלַי "approached me", from נגע. This verb is construed with אל, Jon. iii. 6; Jer. li. 9; Job iv. 5.

22. ויבן. LXX. read ויבא "and he came", but cf. Kamphausen, p. 36.

23. כי חמודות אתה, cf. איש חמודות, x. 11; 19, but there is no necessity for the supposition that the word איש was originally in the text; cf. Kamphausen, *loc. cit.* חמודות really means "preciousness", as in xi. 38; 43. It is never applied to persons, however, except in Dan. ix. 23; x. 11; cf. כלי חמדות, Gen. xxvii. 15; לחם חמודות, Dan. x. 3. The reading of LXX. *ἐλεεινός* and for x. 11 *ἄνϑρωπος ἐλεεινός* presupposes, as Bevan correctly states, an original חֲסִדוּת, but this is not a sufficient reason to alter the text of M. here.

24. i. שָׁבֻעִים instead of שׁבעות, as Ex. xxxiv. 22 *et passim*, is peculiar to Daniel; cf. x. 2 ff.

24. ii. נֶחְתַּךְ is a well known late Heb. word, but a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* in the O. T.

24. iii. לכלא הפשע ולחתם חטאות, *K^e^thîb*; ולחתם חטאת, *Q^e^rê*. The Piʿel form כַּלֵּא, however, is strange, as it occurs nowhere else. It should probably be the Qal infin. לִכְלֹא which would harmonize better with the second member of the *K^e^thîb* לַחְתֹּם. The singular form חַטָּאת of the *Q^e^rê*, altered in order to correspond with the sing. פשע of the first member, is unnecessary. For חתם in the sense of "seal up, complete", cf. Ezek. xxii. 15.

25. i. להשיב ולבנות; תשוב ונבנתה. Bevan suggests the emendations להֹשִׁיב and תֵּשֵׁב from ישב, e. g. "to people and build" and "shall be peopled and built" (cf. Is. xliv. 26; Jer. xxx. 18; Ezek. xxxvi. 10).

25. ii. רחוב וחרוץ. The last part of the verse really baffles interpretation. The chief difficulty is in the word חרוץ, regarding which there are many views. Grätz renders "public places and walls", altering חרוץ to חיץ; cf. *Θ πλατεῖα καὶ τεῖχος*. Bevan makes a still better emendation to חוץ "street" and translates "public places and streets". Behrmann suggests the possibility that both words may be proper names of certain

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well known parts of Jerusalem near the Temple. Perhaps the safest course is simply to leave the word חרוץ unaltered and to translate "public places and trenches", understanding it to refer not to the fortification trenches, but to the irrigation ditches of the gardens, following the usage of the word in the Mishna and Talmud[9]. The idea would then be that Jerusalem was to be entirely rebuilt, both in its public places and private gardens; in short, that the city was once more to be a fit residence for Israel.

25. iii. ובצוק העתים. It is absolutely impossible to make sense[10] of these words, unless with the older commentators we emend צוק to קץ and connect the phrase with Grätz and Bevan with the following verse: ובקץ העתים ואחרי השבעים "And in the end of the times, namely after the sixty two weeks"[11]. The ו in ואחרי is probably the explanatory copula.

26. i. ואין לו. Many commentators believe that the text is mutilated here and that some word like אָיֶן[12] or עוֹזֵר[13] has fallen out, but the whole question is doubtful. If the text of M. be correct, these words may perhaps be translated "and there shall be no one for him" e. g. no one to follow him (?)[14].

26. ii. שֶׁטֶף "overwhelming flood", cf. xi. 22; Nah. i. 8; Ψ xxxii. 6.

27. i. והגביר ברית לרבים. Behrmann tries to translate this phrase without altering the text "and he shall cause many to be so haughty that they shall exalt themselves over the covenant", e. g. he shall cause many of the Israelites to disregard the divine law of Jhvh. Such a rendering, aside from the syntactical difficulties in the way, does not give a true picture of the policy followed by Antiochus Epiphanes. His chief method of bringing the covenant into disrepute among

[9] See Levy, Neuhebr. Wörterb. [10] See Behrmann, p. 63; Bevan, pp. 155ff., Kamphausen, *loc. cit.* for full discussion of the various views. [11] In spite of Behrmann's attempt to make it mean "und zwar wenn die Zeiten knapp gerechnet werden". [12] So Fell. [13] So Grätz, following xi. 45, but see Kamphausen, p. 37. [14] So also Behrmann, p. 63.

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the Jews was not to sneer at it and thus make the people ashamed of it, but rather to persecute all who disobeyed his commands. Cornill's rendering, therefore, "He will make the covenant difficult for many" is better, but necessitates the reading הכביר[15] for הגביר. Perhaps the best suggestion is that of Grätz who substitutes העביר for הגביר. This can only mean "and he shall abolish the covenant for many", e. g. he shall make it impossible for many to perform their religious duties. Bevan, p. 160, reads וְהוּפַר "and the covenant shall be annulled", but this seems too radical a textual change.

27. ii. ועל כנף שקוצים משומם. For על כנף read על כנו, cf. xi. 20[16]: "and instead thereof (there shall be) a desolating abomination", שקוץ, sg., cancelling the final syllable of שקוצים as a possible dittography with the ם in the following משומם[17].

27. iii. וְעַד should probably be pointed וְעֹד which must mean "but furthermore".

27. iv. כלה ונחרצה "ruin and judgment". These words are probably borrowed from Is. x. 23; xxviii. 22, as Bevan conjectures (p. 160).

27. v. שׁוֹמֵם for מְשׁוֹמֵם, Pilpel participle "the desolator". This is parallel with שקוץ משומם "the desolating abomination".

CHAPTER X.

1. i. בלטאשצר, cf. v. 30.

1. ii. צבא "the distress was great"; צבא as in Is. xl. 2; Job x. 17.

1. iii. בין an irregular Qal perfect for בָּן. See above on בינתי, p. 245. LXX. and A. read here unnecessarily ויבין = ובין.

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[15] Not חכביר, Kraetzschmar, Die Bundesvorstellung im A. T., p. 234, n. 2. See Kamphausen, *loc. cit.* [16] See Kuenen, Historisch-kritisch Onderzoek ii. p. 472. [17] There are nearly as many opinions regarding this passage as there are commentators.

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2. שלשה שבעים ימים "three full weeks"; also *v.* 3. ימים is pleonastic.

4. חדקל "the Tigris". The form of the name with ח has excited some discussion. The usual Assyro-Babylonian designation for this river was *Diqlat*, but the form *Idiqlat* occurs II. R. 50, 7d; Sb. 372, and it is probable that this is the prototype of the Heb. חדקל and of the Samaritan חרקל. The modern form Tigris (Greek *Τίγρης*) is a corruption of the Old Persian *Tigra* which itself was a legitimate developement from *Diqlat* with change of original ל to ר[1].

5. אופז must be an error for אופיר in spite of LXX. *Μώφαζ*.

6. i. לפידי אש parallel with ברק; cf. Ex. xx. 18, where it is actually used of lightning.

6. ii. מרגלותיו probably simply "his feet"; cf. Ruth iii. 4; 7; 8.

6. iii. וכעין נחשת קלל. The translation "polished" for קלל is not satisfactory. The expression here is undoubtedly borrowed from Ezek. i. 7 which is probably a corrupt text. Cornill suggests that we should there read כעין נחשת וכנפיהם קלות. As Bevan points out, however, if the text of this verse in Daniel is corrupt, the corruption is older than our Book. The exact meaning of this text can therefore not be known, because it is impossible to decide as to how the author understood קלל.

7. בהחבא should perhaps be לְהֵחָבֵא, unless we translate "seeking to hide themselves", i. e. they fled being in act of hiding themselves[2].

8. והודי נהפך עלי, cf. v. 9 and vii. 28 Aram. שנא על.

11. i. איש חמדות. See above on ix. 23, p. 248.

11. ii. עמד על עמדך. See viii. 16; 18.

11. iii. מרעיד. Cf. also Ezra x. 9.

13. ואני נותרתי שם. The Niphʿal of $\sqrt{\text{יתר}}$ cannot mean "to conquer, get the upper hand" (Gesenius-Buhl s. v. יתר), as there is no parallel in Hebrew usage for this translation.

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[1] Cf. Delitzsch, Paradies, p. 170. [2] See Kamphausen, p. 37; Bevan, p. 167.

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נותר always means "remain over" or "behind"; Ex. x. 15; Gen. xxxii. 25. It is also not necessary to render it "while I had remained behind" as a pluperfect[3], but simply "Michael came to aid me while I was left alone there", etc.

14. יִקְרָה for יִקְרֶה from קרה, possibly owing to the influence of Gen. xlix. 1: ואגידה לכם את אשר יקרא אתכם באחרית הימים, which may have suggested this passage in Daniel[4].

17. i. הֵיךְ is undoubtedly a Palestinian Aramaism for אֵיךְ, cf. 1 Chron. xiii. 12.

17. ii. מֵעַתָּה, *Θ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν.* Some commentators declare this to be unsatisfactory and suggest the readings מבעתה (as Jer. viii. 15) or מרעדה as in *v.* 11 "from fear", but this is not necessary. מעתה is probably equivalent to עתה "now" like מֵאָז, Is. xlviii. 7 for אָז. Translate: "and as for me, now strength does not remain in me", etc. LXX. *ἠσθένησα,* but P. omits it entirely.

19. עמדי should probably be עמדתי.

CHAPTER XI.

2. יעיר הכל את מלכות יון. This use of את is strange, but we may infer that the verb להלחם was understood after הכל. There seems to be no reason to amend the text with Bevan, p. 172.

3. ממשל, a late Hebraism for ממשלה. In 1 Chron. xxvi. 6 ממשל means "a ruler".

4. i. כעמדו "When he (as soon as he) shall stand up" may very well be retained. Several commentators, however, suggest the alteration כעצמו "and when he had become strong", following viii. 8[1].

4. ii. וְתֵחָץ, a Jussive form which has lost its significance, as in *vv.* 16; 28.

5. ומן שריו ויחזק. For this use of מן compare *v.* 7 and Ex.

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[3] So Bevan, p. 168, but see Kamphausen, p. 38. [4] So Bevan, Kamphausen, but cf. Behrmann, p. 68.

[1] See Kamphausen, p. 39.

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vi. 25: מבנות פּוטיאל. The ו in ומן is simple copula and the ו in ויחזק should probably be cancelled as an erroneous repetition, although it is possible to regard it as the explanatory particle; cf. vii. 20, p. 239.

6. i. ולא יעמד וּזְרֹעוֹ should probably be ולא יעמד זַרְעוֹ, following *Θ* "and his seed shall not abide".

6. ii. ותנתן וגו״. This is an extremely difficult text which is really incomprehensible. We should perhaps read: וְיִנָּתְנוּ הִיא וּמְבִיאֶהָ וְהַיֹּלְדָהּ וּמַחֲזִקָהּ בְּעִתִּים׃, altering ותנתן of M. and reading בְּעִתִּים with Behrmann, p. 72. For other readings, see Kamphausen, pp. 39–40; Bevan, pp. 174–5.

7. i. ויבא אל החיל may mean "and shall come to power", although Bevan suggests the emendation וְיָבֵא אֲלֵיהֶם חַיִל "and shall bring an army against them (the Syrians)". There seems to be no reason for changing the text, because the author may have simply written "the army", meaning the Syrian army. This would be quite in accord with his promiscuous use of suffixes and his obscure syntax in this entire chapter.

7. ii. עשה ב, cf. Jer. xviii. 23.

8. נְסִכֵיהֶם is perhaps an error for נִסְכֵּיהֶם from נסך. If the vowels of M. are correct, however, it must be from a singular form נָסִיךְ = נֶסֶךְ, Is. xlviii. 5.

10. i. ובנו, *K^e thîb* should of course be ובניו *Q^e rê*.

10. ii. יתגרו, so *K^e thîb*, although it would be easier to follow the *Q^e rê* and read יתגרה.

11. יתמרמר. See on viii. 17, p. 241.

12. i. רבאות, an Aramaic form instead of the classical רבבות; cf. the reverse in vii. 10.

12. ii. יעוז. For this use of עוז, cf. Koh. vii. 19.

13. i. ולקץ העתים שנים. This phrase is certainly very obscure. Unless we follow Behrmann and others in regarding העתים as a gloss from *v.* 14, the only proper translation is that of Lengerke: "At the end of the time"; viz., of several years. This rendering, which is indicated in the margin of the A. V.,

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seems perfectly allowable. Bevan, however, suggests that שנים may be a scribal addition to explain העתים.

13. ii. רכוש generally means "possessions, riches [2]" (*v.* 24), but here seems to denote "weapons, warlike implements".

14. i. רבים. LXX. *διάνοιαι* "plans, devices". Kamphausen, p. 40, mentions the ingenious opinion that the original text had לֻבִּים "Libyans", referring to the rebellious Egyptian provinces and that the LXX. erroneously read לִבּוֹת. There is no reason, however, to alter the text on the strength of this.

14. ii. בני פריצי עמך. Bevan changes this ingeniously, but unnecessarily, to בֹּנֵי פִּרְצֵי עַמְּךָ "those who build up the breaches of thy people" [3].

14. iii. יִנַּשְּׂאוּ, Hithp. impf., as in Nu. xxiv. 7.

15. i. עיר מבצרות. LXX., P. and V. read ערים בצרות, but this is unnecessary. מבצרות is unusual; the word commonly used is מבצר.

15. ii. עם מבחריו is very strange, but the meaning is clear. Behrmann compares the expression עם הצבא, עם מלחמה; cf. 2 Chron. 36, 19.

16. For כָּלָה read כָּלָּה with Bertholdt.

17. i. כל מלכותו should probably be אל מלכותו. The change is absolutely necessary to make a satisfactory translation.

17. ii. בתקף "with energy". תקף is a late Hebrew Aramaising form, cf. Esther ix. 29 and the adjective תַּקִּיף, Koh. vi. 10.

17. iii. וישרים עמו ועשה should be ומישרים עמו יעשה, in spite of Kamphausen's objection to changing the ישרים of M.

18. i. וישב פניו, so *K^ethîb*. This is better than *Q^erê* וישם, following *v.* 17, because וישב denotes a fact, actual motion and not merely an intention or purpose as in *v.* 17.

18. ii. קצין is used of a military leader Josh. x. 24 and Ju. xi. 6; 11.

18. iii. חרפתו לו בלתי חרפתו ישיב לו. The first לו must evidently be cancelled as Behrmann saw. As it is clear that

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[2] ZATW. i. p. 196. [3] See above p. 176.

בלתי has only a negative force, the word cannot possibly be correct in this passage where the sense requires an adversative particle. I suggest therefore that we read אבל "but" (Dan. x. 7; 21), of which בלתי may be a textual corruption[4].

20. מעביר נוגש הדר מלכות. Bevan transposes this נוגש מעביר וגו׳ and translates "an exactor who shall cause the royal dignity to pass away", referring to 2 Sam. xii. 13, but this is not necessary. I have no hesitation in adopting Kamphausen's suggestion (p. 41) here and interpreting נוגש "exactor" as referring directly to Seleucus IV. himself. It seems unlikely that הדר can be an allusion to Palestine like צבי in viii. 9.

21. i. בשלוה "unawares"; also viii. 25, see p. 245.

21. ii. חלקלקות; also *v.* 34, means "slippery places" in *Ψ* xxxv. 6; Jer. xxiii. 12, but it occurs in Daniel with the secondary idea "treachery".

22. i. There is no reason for reading הִשָּׁטְפוּ with Bevan instead of הַשֶּׁטֶף; cf. ix. 26.

22. ii. נגיד ברית "a Prince of the Covenant", e. g. the High-priest; cf. ix. 25. If the author had intended to express the idea "ally", he would have used the phrase בעל בריתו as in Gen. xiv. 13. ברית alone without the suffix can only refer to the Covenant with God; cf. מלאך הברית, Mal. iii. 1.

23. i. מן is used here in the sense "by means of"; cf. Job iv. 9; *Ψ* xxviii. 7, etc.

23. ii. התחברות, Aramaising infin. form.

23. iii. גוי in the sense of "partisans" is peculiar to this passage.

24. i. משמני מדינה may mean "the mighty men of the province" in accordance with Is. x. 16; *Ψ* lxxviii. 31, but this rendering seems unnecessary.

24. ii. להם. Cf. the remarks on the obscure syntax in *v.* 7.

24. iii. יבזור. Only here and in *Ψ* lxviii. 31.

26. i. פת־בגו. Cf. on i. 5.

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[4] Cf. however Hitzig, Bevan, Behrmann, Kamphausen, etc.

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26. ii. יִשְׁטוֹף should probably be יִשְׁטֹף; so Bevan and Kautzsch-Marti correctly.

27. i. מֵרָע in pause for מֵרַע from רעע, a form like מֵצַר from צרר.

27. ii. לא תצלח "it shall not prosper". The subject is indefinite; cf. Is. vii. 7, for a fem. verb used in this way.

29. ולא תהיה כראשונה וכאחרונה "And verily the latter shall not be as the first". The subject is really האחרונה, to which the וכ are prefixed, in order to strengthen the comparison (cf. Ezek. xviii. 4).

30. i. צִיִּים כתים. כתים is of course an adjective here.

30. ii. נכאה "he shall lose courage" is an Aramaic form, occurring also *Ψ* cix. 16. The Heb. cognate is כהה.

30. iii. ושב. There is no necessity for translating this word with the following וזעם "and he shall again be angry"; so Hitzig.

30. iv. ועשה as in v. 28.

31. i. השקוץ משמם should perhaps be השקוץ השמם or חש״ המשמם as in viii. 13: הפשע שמם for הפ״ השמם [5].

32. i. מרשיעי ברית, cf. מַצדיקי הרבים, xii. 3. הרשיע is intransitive in late Hebrew.

32. ii. יחניף "he shall make apostates". For the various meanings of this stem, cf. ZDMG. xxiii. p. 635.

32. iii. חֲלַקּוֹת, which has the same meaning as חלקלקות *v.* 21; 34, is an adjectival formation like קְטַנּוֹת. We generally find חֲלָקוֹת, pl. of חֶלְקָה, cf. *Ψ* xii. 3; 4.

32. iv. עם ידעי אלהיו. עם is treated as a collective noun; cf. the pl. ידעי, but with the sing. suffix in אלהיו referring back to it; cf. Jer. vii. 28.

34. בחלקלקות "treacherously". There is no reason for altering this to *בְּקַלְקָלוֹת with Behrmann, p. 77.

35. i. בהם. The ב of the object, not "among them" (Meinhold; cf. Siegfried u. Stade, Hebr. Wörterb. *s. v.* צרף).

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[5] For other views, especially that of Nestle in ZATW. 1883 that this is a corruption from בעל השמים, i. e. Zeus, see Bevan, p. 193.

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35. ii. וְלַלְבֵּן = וּלְהַלְבֵּן = וּלְהַלְבִּין. Hitzig amends to וּלְלַבֵּן which seems unnecessary.

36. i. אל אלים; cf. the equivalent Aramaic expression אלה אלהין, ii. 47.

36. ii. נפלאות, cf. vii. 11.

36. iii. כלה זעם, a quotation from Is. x. 25.

38. על כנו must mean here "instead thereof", as elsewhere and not "upon his pedestal", referring to Zeus (Leng.).

39. i. Some expositors suggest reading עַם אֱלוֹהַּ for עם א׳, referring the allusion to a heathen people with whom Antiochus garrisoned the strongholds, or whom he directed to keep the fortified places in order, but there is no need for such a change which, moreover, is unsupported by the Versions. עִם אלוה "with a god" can mean "in support of a god" and would be a natural expression in the mouth of a Jewish author who might speak thus scornfully of a man supporting a heathen deity, reversing the ordinary use seen in Gen. xxi. 22; xxvi. 3.

39. ii. הכיר is quite correct, but should be vowelled הִכִּיר. For this verb in the sense of "favour", cf. Deut. xxi. 17. The construction with a perfect in the protasis and an imperf. in the apodosis has an exact parallel in Deut. xv. 14: אשר ברכך יהוה אלהיך תתן לו.

39. iii. ואדמה יחלק במחיר "and he shall divide the land for gain". The translation of V. "*gratuito*" which Behrmann, p. 80, has sought to uphold has no support from the text. Behrmann's emendation to לא במחיר is unnecessary.

40. יִתְנַגַּח, cf. viii. 4.

42. היה לפליטה, cf. Gen. xxxii. 9.

43. i. מכמני, *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* in the O. T., is an Aramaism; cf. Fränkel, p. 243.

43. ii. במצעדיו for ברגליו, cf. Ju. iv. 10.

45. i. ויטע אהלי אפדנו. נטע אהל[6] is used here instead of

[6] Cf. Is. li. 16; Eccl. xii. 11.

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the ordinary expression for pitching a tent נטה א׳, probably for the sake of variety.

45. ii. אפדן is a loan-word from Old Persian *apadāna*.

CHAPTER XII.

1. i. יעמד "shall arise". עמד as in viii. 23; xi. 2; 3; 20.

1. ii. לא נהיתה "such as has not happened". See above p. 200, on ii. 1.

2. i. אדמת עפר is a strange expression. We expect rather עפר הארץ. עפר, however, is not an uncommon word in later Hebrew for "grave".

2. ii. דראון is found only Is. lxvi. 24, from which passage it may have been borrowed.

3. i. משכלים. Cf. Is. lii. 13.

3. ii. יזהרו כזהר. Cf. Ezek. viii. 2. The stem הזהיר "to shine" is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in the O. T.

3. iii. מצדיקי הרבים. Cf. Is. liii. 11.

4. ישטטו רבים ותרבה הדעת. Bevan, following LXX., insists on translating ישטטו by "they run to and fro (in fear)", a meaning which is perhaps more natural to the stem than any other; cf. Jer. v. 1. In Zech. iv. 10 and in 2 Chron. xvi. 9, however, this verb is used of the eyes of Jhvh surveying, e. g. "running to and fro" through the whole earth. This being so, there is no reason why the same stem might not be metaphorically applied to human eyes carefully perusing a written document[1]. Bevan's emendation, therefore, of הדעת to הרעת "many shall rush hither and thither and many shall be the *calamities*" is quite unnecessary. Behrmann's suggestion to read שאט or שוט for שטט, following LXX. ἕως ἂν ἀπομανῶσιν is equally needless.

[1] In Amos viii. 12 also שטט is used with בקש in the sense of running hither and thither to seek a thing.

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5. היאר, elsewhere always of the Nile. This general application of the word here is peculiar to Daniel and the later Hebrew writers. The Nile is called *nâr Yarû* in Assyrian, which may be a reproduction of the native Egyptian word *ʾitr-ʿȝ*, Kopt. *ior*, which was used to denote the large canal of the Nile [2].

7. i. כַּלּוֹת in the infin. Piʿel can mean "complete"; cf. Dan. ix. 24; Gen. xxiv. 19.

7. ii. For נַפֵּץ יד, Bevan reads יד נֹפֵץ, Behrmann simply נֹפֵץ יד, without changing the position of יד, both commentators referring the participle to Antiochus Epiphanes, the "shatterer". It is preferable, however, to read נֶפֶץ; cf. Is. xxx. 30.

11. שקוץ שמם. See above p. 250.

13. i. Robertson Smith wrongly cancels the first לקץ as a transcriptional error.

13. ii. יעמד. It is true that עמד is never used of rising from the dead in Semitic, but Bevan meets this objection very readily by the remark that if, as is generally thought, this belief were a new one in the author's time, a fixed technical term may have been wanting [3]. The regular expression for the resurrection in later Hebrew is תְּחִיַּת הַמֵּתִים.

13. iii. גורל seems to be used in the sense of inherited portion, as in Ju. i. 3; *Ψ* cxxv. 3.

13. iv. קץ הימים is an equivalent expression to אחרית הימים, x. 14.

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[2] BA. i. p. 612 and Delitzsch, Par. p. 312. [3] Dan., p. 208.

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ADDITIONAL NOTE I.[1]

The last contracts of the reign of Nabonidus are dated in the month Iyar (April–May) 538 B.C. The date 538 instead of the usual 539 is necessitated by the nine months' reign of *Labaši-Marduk,* unmentioned by the Ptolemæan Canon, which brings forward the date of the fall by one year. Babylon was taken on the 16th Tammuz (July 15th) 538, when Nabonidus ceased to reign. Cyrus entered the city the 3rd day of Marcheševan (October 27) evidently assuming the reins of government at once, as the first known contract of his reign is dated in the following month in his "commencement year"; i. e. Kislev 16th (December 9th) 538. The official first year did not begin, therefore, until five months later; i. e. Nîsân 537.

As to the exact duration of Cyrus' reign there is some confusion. Although the Ptolemæan Canon gives him nine years as King of Babylon, a contract exists, dated in his *tenth* year, giving him the title "King of Babylon and of the Lands". It is possible, either that this may be an error, or that the writer may have confused the last year of Nabonidus or the commencement months of Cyrus with the first year of Cyrus' reign. The twenty-nine years of Herodotus i. 214 and the thirty years of Ktesias (see Justin i. 8.) attributed to Cyrus, refer to his combined rule over Anšan and Babylon. It is therefore probable that Cyrus began to reign in Anšan either twenty or twenty-one years before he captured Babylon; i. e. about 558 or 559; see Evers, Das Emporkommen der persischen Macht unter Cyrus, p. 39, who sets his birth about 590.

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[1] See above, p. 14.

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ADDITIONAL NOTE II.[1]

Among the defenders of the authenticity of the book should be mentioned: Lüderwald, Die 6 ersten Capitel Daniels nach historischen Gründen geprüft und berichtigt, 1787; Jahn, Dan. 1880; Dereser, Dan. 1810 (answering Bertholdt); Pareau, Institutio Interpret, v. i.: Royaards, Over den Geest en het belang van het Boek Daniel, Hag. 1821; Ackermann, 1829; Hengstenberg, 1831; Hävernick (answered by Droysen, Geschichte der Hellenen, vol. ii. p. 346); Zündel, Dan. 1861; Hilgenfeld, 1863; Kranichfeld, 1868; Keil; Franz Delitzsch in RE[1] vol. iii.; Caspari; Pusey; Andreä, Beweis des Glaubens, '88, p. 241 ff.: Düsterwald, Die Weltreiche und das Gottesreich nach den Weissagungen des Propheten Daniels, 1890, (reviewed by Siegfried, "Theologische Literaturzeitung", 10. Jan. 1891), etc., etc.

It should be mentioned that Franz Delitzsch, in Herzog's RE[2] vol. vii. pp. 469–479, (1878) had greatly modified his views regarding the time when the book of Daniel originated. He was not inclined to deny the possibility of a Maccabæan origin, and even said, (p. 471), that the book, considered as an apocalyptic work of the Seleucidan period, had more claims to canonicity, than if it were a product of the Achæmenian epoch distorted from its original form by later hands.

ADDITIONAL NOTE III.[2]

The two most important records relating to the fall of Babylon under Nabonidus and its capture by the Persian Cyrus are the "Cyrus Cylinder" and the "Annals of Nabonidus", both of which have come to light recently.

The Cyrus Cylinder is written on a barrel cylinder of unbaked clay, nine inches long, three and a quarter inches in end diameter and four and one-eighth inches in middle diameter. It was reported by Hormuzd Rassam in the Victoria Institute, Febr. 2nd, 1881, as being the official account of the capture of Babylon.

The text of the inscription was published in 1880 by Pinches on the 35th plate of the fifth volume of Sir Henry Rawlinson's

[1] See above, p. 14. [2] See above, p. 35.

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Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, and more recently in Abel-Winckler's Keilschrifttexte, Berlin, 1890, pp. 44 ff. The first treatment of the inscription, embracing transliteration, translation and commentary, was published by Sir H. Rawlinson, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, xii², pp. 70–97, 1880. Since that time translations have been given by Sayce, Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments, pp. 172 ff.; Floigl, Cyrus und Herodot, 1881, which is based on Sir Henry Rawlinson's work; E. Babelon, Les inscriptions cunéiformes relatives à la prise de Babylone par Cyrus. Paris, 1881; Halévy, Mélanges, Cyrus et le Retour de la Captivité, pp. 4 ff.; Tiele, Assyrische und Babylonische Geschichte, pp. 470 ff., a paraphrase; Hommel, Geschichte Assyriens und Babyloniens; Eberhard Schrader, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, iii. pt. 2, pp. 120–127, a transliteration and translation based on a collation from a photograph; Friedrich Delitzsch in Mürdter's Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens, 1891, pp. 259 ff. a paraphrase; O. E. Hagen, Beiträge zur Assyriologie, ii. pp. 205 ff. 1891, transliteration, translation and commentary from an entirely new collation, Sayce, Records of the Past, v. new series, pp. 144 ff., a new translation, and finally, J. D. Prince, Mene Mene Tekel Upharsin, transliteration, translation and commentary, pp. 66–83, 1893. A transliteration of the cuneiform text is also given in Lyon's Manual, pp. 39–41.

The Annals of Nabonidus are engraved upon a gray fragment of unbaked clay in double columns front and back. The tablet, as we have it, is about four inches high and three and a half inches in breadth. The exact measurements are given in Beiträge zur Assyriologie, ii. p. 206. Notice of the inscription was given by T. G. Pinches in 1880, in the Transactions of the Society for Biblical Archæology, pp. 139–176. See also Athenæum, 1881, p. 215, an article by Sir Henry Rawlinson who considered it to be the Annals of Cyrus, and Sayce, Academy, March 13, 1881, xvii. p. 198.

The text of the document is given by Winckler, Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte, 1889, p. 154, and again lately from a fresh collation by O. E. Hagen, 1891, *op. cit.* pp. 248 ff., whose copy differs but very slightly from that of Winckler.

The first translation of the inscription, which was made by Mr. Pinches, appeared in the Transactions of the Society for Biblical Archæology. vii. 1882, pp. 153–169, and was accompanied by an

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introduction, transcription and notes. The same scholar submitted lines 1–4 of column ii. to a new collation, the result of which appeared in the Proceedings of the same Society, v. p. 10.

Translations and paraphrases of the document have been given by the authors mentioned above as having presented translations, etc. of the Cyrus Cylinder, the most important being that of O. E. Hagen, Beiträge zur Assyriologie, ii., pp. 215ff., with full commentary.

ADDITIONAL NOTE IV.[1]

The name *Belšaruçur* occurs of two other persons besides the king's son; see above p. 35, note 29.

The most important references to *Belšaruçur* son of Nabonidus in the published contracts are the following: —

(a) Strassmaier, Nabonidus p. 184, where mention is made of *Nabû-ukîn-axi šipiri ša Belšaruçur mâr šarri.* "N. the scribe of B. the son of the king". Dated 25th Nisan, fifth year of Nabonidus. Translation, Records of the Past, New Series, iii. pp. 124ff.

(b) Boscawen, Babylonian and Oriental Record, ii. pp. 17–18; Revillout, Obligations en Droits Egyptiens, p. 895. . . . Strassamier, Congrès de Leide, *no.* 80, Tablet S + 329, 79, 11, 17, mention of the same person, and of *Nabu-çabit-qâte,* the major-domo of *Belšaruçur,* the son of the king. Dated seventh year of Nabonidus. Boscawen concludes from the mention of these especial servants of the king's son so early in his father's reign that the prince must have been born before the accession of Nabonidus, a conclusion hardly warranted by the premises, as the exact age when a king's son had his separate household is not known. It should be remarked, however, that if *Belšaruçur* were in command of the army in the seventeenth and last year of his father's reign, the prince was probably older than seventeen. Compare also in this connection the statement recorded below, that in the first year of Nabonidus a plot of ground was sold to a servant of *Belšaruçur* for his lord.

(c) Strassmaier, Nabonidus, p. 581. Translation: Records of the Past iii. pp. 124–5, mention of *Nabu-çâbit-qâte* the steward of *Belšaruçur* the *mâr šarri.* Dated eleventh year of Nabonidus.

[1] See above, p. 37.

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(d) Strassmaier, Nabonidus, p. 688. Translation, Records of the Past iii. p. 124, — allusion to same official. Dated sixth year.

(e) Strassmaier, Nabonidus, p. 662. Translation by Zehnpfund BA. i. p. 527, no. 25, a list of garments: 5 *çubât eširti ana xubâ ša kurummate šarri Belšaruçur.* Dated twelfth year. This is the only allusion to the king's son known to me, where he is not especially called *mâr šarri.* The omission of the title in this case was probably because the mention of the royal steward shows who is meant.

(f) Boscawen, Babylonian and Oriental Record, ii. p. 17, n. 1. Record of an offering made by the son of the king in *Ebarra.* Dated seventh year.

Nabû-çâbit-qâte (Nebo seizes the hands) was the name of the major-domo of Neriglissar (Nebuchadnezzar, 34, 2/6, 1, 5, see Strassmaier, Alphabetisches Wörterverzeichniss,) and of his son *Labaši-Marduk* (Neriglissar, 2, 10/6, 2. See Bab. and Or. Record, ii. pp. 44; 48). The steward of *Belšaruçur* may be the same person.

To the contracts just mentioned should be added the two references to *Belšaruçur* treated of by Pinches, *New York Independent,* Aug. 15, 1889:

(a) Sale of a plot of ground by *Marduk-êriba* to *Bel-rêšûa,* servant of *Belšaruçur,* son of the king. Dated 26 Ve-Adar, first year of Nabonidus.

(b) The record of a small tablet from Sippar that *Esaggila-râmat,* daughter of the king (Nabonidus), paid her tithe to *Šamaš* through *Belšaruçur.* Dated 5th of Ab, seventeenth (last) year of Nabonidus. This payment took place in the month before Sippar was captured by the Persians. Pinches, *op. cit.,* believed, however, that it had already been taken. The attempt of Boscawen, Transactions of the Society for Bibl. Archæology, ii. pp. 27–28, (followed by Andreä, Beweis des Glaubens, 1888, p. 250, Cheyne, "Encycl. Britannica", vi. p. 803, *etc.,*) to identify *Mardukšaruçur,* whose fifth year he thought he had discovered on a tablet, with *Belšaruçur* is unsuccessful. The contract to which the reference was made belongs to the time of Neriglissar. See Tiele "Geschichte", p. 476, Strassmaier, "Congrès de Leide", n. 115, p. 586.

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ADDITIONAL NOTE V.[1]

The name of the coin, *δαρεικός* (Hebrew אֲדַרְכוֹן) has been derived by some from the name Darius[2], but it is extremely probable that there is no connection linguistically between the two. Putting aside all other difficulties, the form *δαρεικός*, if considered as an adjectival developement from *Δαρεῖος*, has no analogy. As Georg Hoffmann has pointed out, ZA. ii., p. 53, forms like *κεραμεικός*, *Εὐβοεικός* come from *κεραμεύς*, *Εὐβοεύς*, etc., and not from an original *-εῖος*. The *κ* in *δαρεικός* he believes, therefore, is not of Greek origin[3]. The derivation, however, which Hoffmann suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 56) from *Dar-ik* = دری, from *Dar* "gate"; i. e. the royal gate, has been retracted, Phœnician Inscriptions, Göttingen, 1889, p. 8.

Bertin, Proceedings, Society for Biblical Archæology, Feb. 5, 1884, p. 87, mentioned that a contract of the twelfth year of Nabonidus contains the word *dariku* which he believed might be the original of the name of the coin. This *dariku*, however, seems to be the name of some agricultural product. So Tallqvist, Sprache der Contracte Nabunaids, p. 66. For the word, cf. Nbk. 432, 7, Strassmaier, Babylonische Texte; *darika*, Nbk. 347. 10; *idrika-?*-571 — also Alphabetisches Wörterverzeichniss, No. 1919. It appears hardly possible, therefore, to connect it with the later *δαρεικός*. While the true derivation of the name of the coin has probably not yet been discovered, its connection with the name Darius appears no longer possible. The assertions of Suidas and Harpocration, that the coin was not named from Darius Hystaspis, but from some older monarch must thus fall to the ground, and with them the hope of an identification of Darius the Median with an older king of this name.

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[1] See pp. 49—50. [2] Compare Gesenius, Thesaurus, p. 353; Lag. Abh., p. 242, quoted by Hoffmann ZA. ii. p. 50, who regarded *Δαρεικός* like *Δαριήκης* as a by-form of Darius. [3] For the extreme improbability concerning the derivation of this word from the name Darius, see his entire article ZA. ii., pp. 49—56. As early as Hävernick, Untersuchungen, p. 78, n. 3, 1838, the difficulty of such a theory was felt.

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INDICES.

Index of Subjects.

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Index of the most important Aramaic Words and Stems.

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Index of the most important Assyrian Words and Stems.

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Index of the most important Hebrew Words and Stems.

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CORRIGENDA.

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2, line 1. Peshiṭṭa, read Peshiṭṭā.
11, note 7. Ἀδαδναδινάκης, read Ἀδαδναδινάχης.
20, line 32. Jhoh, read Jhvh.
60, line 1. Semetic, read Semitic.
line 28. culture[6], read culture[7].
77, line 16. cornel, read cornet.
196, line 21. xi. 12; Dt. i. 4, read 11. 12; Dn. i. 4.
197, line 2. *ποτίβαξις*, read *ποτίβαζις*.
198, line 23. *σχίθρωπος*, read *σχυθρωπὸς*.
199, line 13. (Is. lxi. 1), read (Is. lxi. 11).
203, line 25. "to Aramaic alone, but occurs also in Hebrew", read "to Biblical Aramaic alone, but occurs also in the Targums."
205, line 30. iii. 14, read v. 29.
210, line 17. דאעין (דיעין) iii. 19, read זאעין (זיעין) v. 19.
223, line 8. Ψ xix. 13, read Prov. xix. 13.
224, line 10. (Is. lvii. 8), read (Is. lviii. 8).
225, line 17. הִתקנת, read הָתקנת.
226, line 15. Paradies, p. 119, read Paradies, p. 219.
227, line 19. قِيرٌ, read قَيِّرٌ.
234, line 17. נְזִק, read נֵזֶק.
235, line 21. iv. 34, read iv. 24.
note 4. GGA. 1887, read GGA. 1884.
246, line 13. Neh. ix. 7, read Neh. ix. 17.
247, line 10. Ju. xxx. 7, read Jer. xxxvi. 7.
248, line 24. חתם, read התם.
256, line 22. ZDMG. xxiii. p. 635, read xxvi. p. 635.

ADDENDA.

26. The picture of Daniel's tomb is given also in Riehm[2], p. 1611.
231. On Dan. v. 21 add the following: ערדיא "wild asses". So Θ. It seems preferable, however, to read here עדריא "herds" (see Prince, Mene Mene Tekel Upharsin, p. 111).
235, line 4. Jer. xxvi. 16, read "Ruth i. 19, but see Jer. xxvi. 16."
242, line 4. See for this passage Prince, JBL. xvii. pp. 203—4.
246, lines 6—7. Neuhebr. Gr. § 97 c, add "for the ל of the Infinitive, and § 105 for the coincidence of the ל״א and ל״ה verbs."

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